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# FIVE COLLEGE DEPOSITORY

# WE DO OVERCOME; RESILIENT BLACK COLLEGE MALES

A Dissertation Presented

by

KAREN HAVENS BUTLER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

February 1994

Department of Psychology

## WE DO OVERCOME; RESILIENT BLACK COLLEGE MALES

A Dissertation Presented by KAREN HAVENS BUTLER

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#### ABSTRACT

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The proposed work is grounded in research from two areas: (a) stress-resistent or resilient youth, and (b) victimology. These literatures have been combined to address the issue of resilience in Black college students, given their ethnic heritage of oppression. This cultural heritage is thought to produce assumptive world beliefs in Blacks similar to those of persons who have experienced individual incidents of victimization. Blacks as a group view the world as less benevolent than do Whites and report less felt control than do Whites over the distribution of good and bad events. The question arises then of characteristics of the individual or environment that allow a subset of young Blacks to maintain a high self-esteem and personal efficacy, particularly in the face of mainstream culture which continues to devalue Black status? The present research will attempt to explore Afrocentrism, presence of a close/confiding relationship, attributional style and family environ as variables which contribute to resilience in Black college students. Participants in the study will be Black undergraduate

students. More versus less resilient subjects will be discerned on the basis of grade point average, leisure activities, social relationships, self-esteem and personal efficacy. Paper and pencil questionnaires will be utilized by this investigator in several group adminstrations. A group aggregate analysis will be used to report the results. It is predicted that Black students characterized as more resilient will manifest a more integrated personal (high self-esteem) and group (high racial esteem) identity, be more likely to have a close/confiding relationship with a significant adult figure, and have a more well defined sense of their own efficacy, than will Black students characterized as less resilient.

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#### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION

Given the on going experience of oppression among
Blacks, there is a need to understand those individuals who
manifest successful adaptation in a larger cultural milieu
which devalues Black status. The ability to engender
resilient or stress-resistent qualities can serve to
enhance the ability of those less hardy to maximize their
full developmental potential. Psychology has long focused
on maladaptive or dysfunctional behaviors and their
antecedents. More recently researchers (Garmezy, 1981;
Rutter, 1979) have turned their focus to characteristics of
the individual and environment that allow some children
exposed to highly stressful environments to manifest
minimal, if any, evidence of increased behavioral deficits
or psychopathology.

### Resilient Or Stress-Resistent Children

Smith (1990) suggests that interest in resilient or stress-resistent characteristics was partially generated by the discrepency between life events and outcome research. Many individuals from significantly disadvantaged and deprived environments manifest substantively competent functioning in social and occupational domains. Compas (1978) reports the origins of resilience research to be rooted in the study of variables which predispose given individuals to psychopathology. Two pioneers in this field of research include Michael Rutter and Norman Garmezy.

Rutter (1979) acknowledges the imprecision in defining terms such as vulnerability and overcoming adversity. He suggests that much of the stress-resistent literature measures this variable in terms of either absence of psychopathology or presence of previously attained accomplishments. In distinguishing resilient individuals he offers

"There is an enormous disparity between those who become ordinary, reasonably adjusted people in spite of chronic stress and disadvantage and those who become criminal, mentally ill or educationally retarded" (Rutter, 1979, p. 51).

Some of the variables Rutter (1979) explored in relation to stress-resistence included: genetic influences, temperament, gender, school environment, self-esteem, parental supervision, social relationships and coping skills. Across a number of studies (Rutter et al., 1964; Rutter et al., 1975; Rutter & Quinton, 1977) the stress -resistent child has been characterized by a positive temperament, female gender, good school environment, high self-esteem, parents who supervised their activities, good relationships with at least one parent and effective coping skills. Qualities such as temperament and gender are not malleable. Rutter and Quinton (1977) note that children with a positive temperament were less likely to be the target of parental criticism. Though a gender effect has been obsereved in the context of resilience research,

Rutter (1979) acknowledges that an understanding of that finding currently remains elusive. While some characteristics ascribed to resilient youth are beyond the scope of intervention, others are not. Qualities like self -esteem, parental supervision, relationship skills and effective coping skills are ammenable to intervention.

Rutter et al. (1975) note that stress -resistence is inversely related to the number of stressors experienced. Specifically, children exposed to one chronic stress were no more likely to manifest a psychiatric disorder than counterparts experiencing no exposure to chronic stress (Rutter et al., 1975). However, children exposed to two simultaneous stressors demonstrated a fourfold increase in manifest psychopathology (Rutter et al., 1975). The types of variables that Rutter et al. (1975) identified as chronic stressors included severe marital discord, low socioeconomic status, overcrowding or large family size, paternal criminality and maternal psychiatric disorder. It would seem that the number of stressors to which an individual is exposed is an important variable in the demonstration of resilience.

Garmezy (1981) frames the study of stress -resistent children by positing "(1) the presence of sustained and intense life stress and (2) the maintainance of mastery and competence despite such stress exposure" (p.215) among these individuals. Garmezy (1981), like Rutter (1979), emphasizes the repeated demonstration of competence among

children exposed to harshly disadvantaged and deprived backgrounds. Researchers (Nuechterlein, 1970; Garmezy & Nuechterlein, 1972) report the observation of the following characteristics in achieving children from economically disadvantaged backgrounds: enhanced social capabilities, high self-esteem, sense of personal power, internal locus of control, perceived relationship between self-efficacy and environmental contingencies, cognitive style characterized by reflection and impulse control, structured/organized household, parental involvement in the child's educational process, clearly defined family roles, parental tolerance for autonomous strivings and a significant relationship with at least one adult figure. Many of these variables are also present among stress -resistent children who experience other forms of chronic stress.

Pines (1979) addresses the characteristics of children she labels "superkids". She refers to these children as individuals who are resistent to the pathological influences of their respective environments. Pines (1979) cites Garmezy who in turn drew upon the work of John Whitehorn in defining resilient individuals as those who "work well, play well, love well and expect well" (p. 54). Pines (1979) in reviewing the present literature on stress-resistent children notes the following common characteristics: good social skills, seeking adult support, consistent environmental mastery attempts, sense of

personal efficacy, autonomy and achievement. Several authors (Pines, 1979; Smith et al., 1990) report such children are described by others as friendly and well liked by peers and teachers. Further, resilient children are frequently found to

"have at least one very close friend with whom they share many activities" (Pines, 1979, p. 57).

The ability to cultivate meaningful social relationships if thought to enhance people's ability to deal effectively with highly stressful contexts. Pines (1979) cites the contribution of seeking adult support in positive, autonomous ways as providing increased opportunity for identification with appropriate adult role models which may be lacking in home environments. In repeatedly attempting to master their environments children develop a sense of competence and realistic boundaries in regards to personal power. Janoff-Bulman (1989) suggests

"Psychologically, the healthiest people probably have a good sense of their strengths and weaknesses, their possibilities and limitations in the world" (p. 70).

Pines (1979) indicates that the importance of a good relationship with at least one adult early on facilitates the development of a basic sense of trust. This sense of trust is one of the underpinnings of people's basic assumptions about the world. Interestingly, Pines (1979) suggests that "superkids" are individuals exposed to challenge via high stress environs. Specifically, high

stress environments are not thought to foster a belief of invulnerability. Thus, children who are resilient have an opportunity to develop confidence and competence which is intrinsically bound to their survival in difficult contexts.

# Victim Versus Survivor Characteristics

Many researchers (e.g., Janoff-Bulman, 1986, 1987; Bowlby, 1969; Maris, 1975; Epstein, 1979, 1980) believe that people develop assumptions about the world and those in it. These assumptions are thought to provide individuals with a means to plan and organize their actions and interpret the actions of others. These generalized belief systems are thought to be implicit and often to go unchallenged (Janoff-Bulman, 1989). Some initial work by Janoff-Bulman (1986, 1987) has investigated differences in world assumptions between individuals who have been victimized and those who have not. A study she conducted at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst suggested that victims did differ from nonvictims. Such differences characterized those who had been victimized as more likely to see the world as malevolent, feeling less control over external events, and as more likely to have a lower sense of self-esteem.

An underpinning of victim/survivor research is the assumption of personal invulnerability (Janoff-Bulman, 1989). Typically, people are thought to believe that bad events happen to others. Further, individuals are thought

to perceive a sense of control over external events which happen to them. Upon victimization the illusion of invulnerability is shattered (Janoff-Bulman, 1986, 1987, 1989). Janoff-Bulman (1989) and Pines (1979) acknowledge the early care-taker relationship as a foundational source of underlying assumptions regarding vulnerability/invulnerability. To the extent that a care -taker is able to accurately anticipate and meet the needs of an infant one is thought to develop beliefs which emphasize issues of trust, safety and self-worth. These issues undergo major changes in the face of victimization (Parkes, 1975).

Zawitz (1983) ascribes the following demographic characteristics to victims of violent crime

"young (between 12-24), Black, single or divorced, living in an urban area, and unemployed, and has an annual family income of less than \$3,000 [1983 dollars]" (p. 300).

Frieze et al. (1987) state that violent crime victims often report loss of identity, loss of self-respect, loss of control, rejection by others and increased incidence of depression. Further, long-term reactions which characterize those who continue to perceive themselves as victims versus survivors include low self-esteem, depression, guilt, fear and relationship difficulties.

Frieze et al. (1987) suggest there is a degree of consensus among researchers that the victim/survivor distinction include the ability

"to keep their stress within tolerable limits, to maintain a positive self-concept and a good outlook on the victimization, and to develop a realistic (non-self-blaming) view of the victimization" (p. 304).

In common with resilience research, high self-esteem and positive social support are associated with survivor status. Both Frieze et al. (1987) and Janoff-Bulman (1989) acknowledge the value of behavioral versus characterological self-blame in distinguishing those most successful in coping with victimization. Similarly, both researchers assert the utility of self-blame in that it permits a means of personal control in a victimizing context. Behavioral self-blame refers to actions manifest by an individual which can be changed to reduce the likelihood of future victimization.

"Characterological self-blame involves attributing one's victimization to aspects of one's personality, a relatively nonmodifiable source. Such attributions give one little confidence that future victimization can be avoided and can lead to feelings of depression and helplessness" (Frieze et al., 1987, p. 305).

Thus, it would seem that survivors are those individuals who are able to maintain a high self-esteem and perception of control over external contingencies.

# Black Socialization To Victim Status

The various definitions of victim in Webster's dictionary include: "1) a living being sacrificed to a diety or performance of a religious rite, 2) one that is acted upon and usually adversely affected by a force or agent: as (a) 1. one that is injured, destroyed or sacrificed, 2. one that is subjected to oppression hardship or mistreatment" (1977, p. 1295). Victimization is the process of making one a victim. What seems clear from these definitions is that the process is conceived as somethings which happens most typically to an individual. Secondly, victimization is thought to result from direct experience with a victimizing agent.

The form of victimization referred to in the context of this research occurs as a result of ethnic identification with a group history of oppression. In this form the victimization need not be experienced directly (ie. observance or recounting of anothers experience of victimization because of Blackness). Yet I will assert that the effects of such victimization may be experienced as if personal in that they influence the perceptions of each individual member of the group.

Black Americans share a common history of oppression which began in slavery (Mays, 1986). Though not all Blacks

were slaves or live in ghetto environments the heritage is shared. Following the end of slavery, Blacks were denied: the right to vote, access to various hotels and restaraunts, education, job opportunities and full participation in society (Butler, 1989). Though some Blacks have entered the middle and upper classes, as a group Blacks continue to occupy the lowest position in the socioeconomic hierarchy.

Each Black American lives with a knowledge of Blacks as victims which influences or has the potential to influence their perceptions of the world differentially from Whites. Aside from mainstream socialization which reaffirms victim status or awareness, I believe there to be an oral tradition in Black families which contributes to this phenomenon. Turner and Turner (1975) outline the process by which black children are socialized into persons who are discriminated against.

"from early childhood on, Black children, ... are socialized into the role of a person who is discriminated against. Parents, relatives and friends of a Black child often recount, to the child and others within the child's hearing, personal experiences of racial discrimination in obtaining a job or housing, at school or at work, or in casual encounters with whites" (Turner & Turner, 1975, p. 348).

Shade (1982) states that Blacks are taught at an early age to be wary of people and systems in their environment.

Although the child may not have directly experienced

victimization as a result of ethnic identity, the message is clear that the potential for such victimization exists. More specifically the messages are that the world is not a safe place for Blacks and that one must learn whom to trust and under what circumstances.

"Of all the world's nations, the United States speaks eloquently of universal justice and equal opportunity. Yet its treatment of its principal minority belies those basic commitments" (Hacker, 1992, p. 215).

The United States has long referred to itself as the melting pot, a country whose members come from many other continents and cultures. However, in this context americans of European descent have come to represent the majority, with their cultural practices and beliefs held as the standard by which all others are measured. Those not of European descent are thusly referred to as minorities. Within the designation of minority status there are further subdivisions. Ogbu (1977) outlines a typology where by minorities are divided into three classifications. He refers to autonomous minorities as groups who may experience prejudice but tend not to experience stratification, for example Jews and Mormons. Ogbu (1977) makes reference to immigrant minorities such as the Chinese and Filipino who have voluntarily come to this country in an attempt to secure greater political and ecomonic status/freedom. Initially such groups occupy low status positions in the occupational/economic system with

concomittantly low levels of power and prestige, however, this does not define their status totally in the social heirarchy. Finally, Ogbu (1977) describes castelike minorities in reference to Black Americans. In Ogbu's (1977) typology castelike minorities are treated as inferior relative to majority members. This designation as inferior results in significantly negative treatment in a variety of areans which has long been systematic. As such

"...one task facing virtually all Black Americans is the development of ways to cope with the experiences of racial prejudice and discrimination" (Comer, 1980, p. 364).

While minorities from other cultural backgrounds clearly experience prejudice and discrimination, it is often quite different from that of the Black American. Specifically, because skin color is used as the singularly most important discriminator of group identity it prevents Blacks from potential voluntary assimilation into the greater cultural fabric (Comer, 1980; Hacker, 1992). As Blacks are highly visible due to skin color and given the negative associations cuturally ascribed to the colors black and brown the experience of racism is further intensified for Black individuals. Thus regardless of the efforts of the individual or the group as a whole Blacks by virtue of their skin color are precluded from full acceptance in a culture whose norm is White.

"In reality, Blacks in the United States suffer the double

jeopardy of belonging to a denigrated race and an oppressed social class" (Bulhan, 1985, p. 371).

Academics is an area where Blacks experience differential/negative treatment. This has a profound effect as the educational system is a primary tool by which members of American culture are prepared for adult participation in the social, political and economic workings of society. Beginning in the elementary years Black students attempted indoctrination to inferior status commences.

"It was found that White teachers engaged in a pattern of expectation and interaction that resulted in Black students being given less attention, ignored more, praised less and critisized more than whites were. In addition, Blacks labeled as gifted were given the least attention, least praise, and most criticism, even when compared to their nongifted Black counterparts" (Rubovits & Maeher, 1973, p. 202).

Hacker (1992) also notes that educational institutions tend to have low expectations of Black males in particular.

Often the aspirations and talents of Black children go unrecognized "if not discouraged and destroyed" (Hacker, 1992, p. 171).

"In a report submitted to the Commissioner of Education in New York State, several black educators advanced the view that minority pupils have been the victims of an intellectual and educational oppression, due to

the Euro-American monocultural perspective that dominates most school curriculums. This insensitivity, they asserted, has had a terribly damaging effect on the psyches of young people, whose native cultures are alienated and devalued" (Hacker, 1992, p. 167).

There is a way in which while history texts reflect the different cultures of Europe as they are represented by those who settled the early Americas, there is little to reflect the contributions of people of color in the development of this country. This ommision likely translates either that Black individuals have not contributed anything or that the contributions made are devalued and not worthy of mention. Many educators would agree that having pride in one's people contributes to self—respect which may manifest itself in academic achievement.

"... youngsters do better academically when they see themselves in the curriculum. That does not happen often for black children. The chief message they still get, in school as elsewhere, is that this is a white country, to which they do not fully belong" (Hacker, 1992, p. 170).

The use of norm-referenced tests and tracking has further been applied in such a way as to curtail the success of Black students. Historically Blacks have performed less well on standardized test measures. Even attempts to develop "black tests" (ie. B.I.T.C.H) have failed to demonstrate a comparable Black intelligence. The failure of such "black tests" may lie in the adaptaion

of content only versus the development of alternate means for assessing one's academic attainments and capabilities, and a continued valuation of a narrowed scope of skills and talents.

The use of standardized tests has not only resulted in Black children being identified as less intelligent than White peers but has also served as a means by which to relegate Black students to classrooms (special education) where low expectation is a norm

"...while Black pupils represent 16 percent of all public school students, they make up almost 40 percent of those who are classed as mentally retarded, disabled, or otherwise deficient" (Hacker, 1992, p. 164).

While Black students outnumber their White counterparts in special education classrooms, White students outnumber Blacks in fast or advanced tracks (Patton, 1980). Placement in such special education classrooms ensures that these youngsters will fall behind their grade levels. Further, these special classroom often become dumbing grounds for students whose "conduct teachers find bothersome or inappropriate" (Hacker, 1992, p. 164). Those relegated to lower tracks tend to remain there throughout their educational career.

The lack of male role models is also thought to have a deleterious effect on Black males. Data from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission indicates that in 1976

1.2 percent of elementary school teachers were Black males,

10.1 percent were Black females. At the secondary level, the same source reports, 3.2 percent of teachers were Black males and 5.1 percent were Black females. Patton (1980) borrowing on Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory states that this is

"...a process of interpersonal assessment by which an individual evaluates the appropriateness and desirability of his or her beliefs, opinions, and attitudes through comparision with other individuals" (p. 204).

Comparision to others who share similar beliefs, attitudes and opinions is thus most appropriate. Patton's (1980) concern is that despite even the best intentions White teachers may be ineffective in transmitting and sustaining the value and importance of academic achievement potentially instilled by Black teachers.

"...for Black individuals the social influence of similar others (Black teachers, counselors, administrators coaches, and so forth) may serve to convey the appropriate value orientations to achievement tasks" (Patton, 1980, p. 204).

Black students, specifically males, have higher rates of suspension, dropout and subsequent decrease in college attendance. In 1980 Blacks accounted for 16 percent of the total enrollment (elementary and secondary), however, they represented 29 percent of those suspended from school, 27 percent of those expelled from school and 29 percent of those to receive corporal punishment (Killalea et al.,

1980). Further, between the years 1975 - 1976 Blacks represented 15 percent of secondary school enrollment (Patton, 1980). They also represented 21 percent of dropouts and only 12 percent of graduates. Simply stated, these statistics preclude the likelihood that many Black youths will be in a position to attend college.

College has traditionally been a means to attain greater economic freedom and a wider vocational horizon. Yet again this has not been the case for many Black Americans. While fewer Blacks, especially males, are attending college those that do often find they earn significantly less than White counterparts with comparable education. Blacks who finish college have an unemployment rate 2.24 times that for White peers (Hacker, 1992). While Black high school graduates have an unemployment rate even higher. Black males with four years of college education earn \$798 for every \$1,000 earned by White college males (Hacker, 1992). Further, Black males who complete graduate school earn \$771 for ever \$1,000 earned by White male peers which is even less than Black males with less education (Hacker, 1992). Between 1979 - 1989 the average income for Black college males declined by 11 percent while at the same time the average incomes of White college males increased by 11 percent (Hacker, 1992). Hacker (1992) attributes this pattern to the decline in governmental positions with corresponding growth in the private sector. Larger numbers of Blacks are employed in the public

sector. Similarly, Black females earn less than their White counterparts, however, the income discrepency is not quite as great. These figures lend credence to many Black youths argument that staying in school does not provide the same opportunity for employment and economic security as for majority peers.

With or without a college education the employment picture for Blacks is often bleak. Consistently Blacks have a higher rate of unemployment than Whites. At present, the unemployment rate for Blacks is the highest its been since the Great Depression (Hacker, 1992; Davis, 1992). In 1990 unemployment for Blacks was 13 percent and 5.5 percent for Whites. In addition to those unemployed about one million more individuals are listed as "discourage workers" of which 30 percent are Black (Hacker, 1992). Angela Davis (1992) decribes these individuals as those who wish to work but who have given up convinced there is no work for them.

In addition to cut backs in government jobs, Blacks have also been hurt by the decrease in blue collar jobs as the American economy has farmed out many jobs to overseas laborers. Further as a group Blacks tend to be underrepresented in many higher status and higher paying professions. In 1990 of the 25,831 doctoral degrees awarded only 3.5 percent were obtained by Black males and females (Hacker, 1992). Blacks continue to be underrepresented in fields such as engineering, law, medicine, architecture and journalism (Hacker, 1992). Paul Robeson is a fine example

of a Black man unable to find employment in this chosen field. He turned to acting when unable to obtain work as a lawyer following his graduation from Columbia Law School.

Another area of employment difficulty for Blacks is that males and females are often in competition for the same jobs. Black females are more frequently chosen over Black males.

"If and when organizations feel compelled to hire more Black workers, they generally prefer to take on Black women rather than Black males" (Hacker, 1992, p. 115).

Hacker (1992) attributes this pattern to the perception that Black women are less assertive than Black men and more accomodating. Hiring Black women also alleviates the possibility of familiar relations between Black men and White women, a historical concern of White men (Hacker, 1992). As such Black men face the added hardship of often being seen as an undesirable employee dispite their level of training or qualification. The inability of Black men to successfully compete in the areana of academics and later vocation has a significantly deterimental effect on the self-concept of many. In a culture where "manliness" is associated with worldy success, many Black men are denied this experience in the face of systemic barriers which truncate their access to equal opportunity. It is interesting to note that despite cosmetic attempts to reform an often hostile and oppressive system (ie. affirmative action)

"...fewer Blacks now have steady jobs of any kind and their unemployment rates have been growing progressively worse relative to those recorded for Whites" (Hacker, 1992, 132).

Another ramification of the racism and oppression experienced by Black males is the increased rate of death. The three leading causes of death for Black males between the ages of 18 to 29 are accidents, homicides and suicides (Davis, 1980). As drugs and weapons have become the play things for those disempowered and disenfranchised there has been a corresponding increase in Black on Black youth homicide. Additionally, suicide rates for young Black males have been steadily rising over the past 2 decades (Davis, 1980). Davis (1980) goes on to note that statistical patterns associated suicide suggest that residents of lower than average per capita income are least likley to commit suicide. This pattern holds for all groups except Black males in the 18 - 29 year age range. Black males have a 7 year shortened life span compared with White males and Black females a 5 year shortened life span in comparison to White counterparts (Hacker, 1992). Black males have 3 times greater chance of contracting AIDS than White peers and are 7 times more likley to be the victim of murder compared to White males (Hacker, 1992). Whether at their own hand or the hand of another youth, Black males have a decreased likelihood of surviving late adolescence and early adulthood.

In the face of decreased academic, vocational and ultimately economic opportunity some Black males are more apt to become involved in criminal activity. There are more Black men locked in prisons and jails than in college. Over half a million Black men are in prison or jail, and another million have records as felons (Hacker, 1992). While Blacks represent between 12 and 13 percent of the population they account for 47 percent of those awaiting trails or serving short term sentences (Hacker, 1992). Blacks account for 40.1 percent of those on death row (Hacker, 1992). Blacks tend to be associated with violent crime specifically murder, robbery and rape. While 32 percent of rape victims identified their attackers as Black, 43.2 percent of those arrested as perpetrators of rape were Black according to census reports (Hacker, 1992). Hacker (1992) goes on to note that men in the age range 25 - 35 were most likely to have run ins with the law, for White men in this age range the median income is \$20,153 while for Blacks it is \$14,333. While this is not a justification to commit crime, fewer employment and economic opportunities may result in some Black males involvement in illegal activities.

Between 1976 - 1987 1,800 Blacks were killed by the police and 3,000 Whites (Hacker, 1992). Given the percentage of the population that is Black, Blacks were 3 times as likely to be killed by law enforcement officals in comparision to White peers. These figures include law abiding Blacks wrongly killed. The inability of police to

distinguish law abiding Black citizens from those who have engaged in criminal activity has become an increasing concern throughout all socioeconomic levels of the Black community.

"...many police lack the intuition or experience to distinguish law-abiding citizens from a dangerous offender" (Hacker, 1992, p. 189).

"And even if the police do not draw their guns, most Black Americans can recall encounters where they were treated with discourtesy, hostility or worse" (Hacker, 1992, p. 189).

Hacker (1992) suggests that as a disportionate number of crimes are accounted for by Blacks, law abiding Blacks are more likley to be perceived as possible criminals. Blacks, unlike many majority members, are never sure of the response they will get from police should they become victims of crime themselves. Hacker (1992) reports that Blacks receive "less attention" when in fact they do report being victims of crime. Black citizens are more likely to be stopped by police and have their car searched, more likely to have a motel clerk lose their reservation and more likely to be watched and followed by store clerks than majority members (Hacker, 1992).

Turning from the individual to the family, greater numbers of Black families live in poverty compared to majority families. Between 1970 and 1990 the median income for Whites rose from \$34,481 to \$36,915 representing an 8.7

percent increase (Hacker, 1992). During that same time period the median income for Black families increased from \$21,151 to \$21,423 (Hacker, 1992). Twelve percent of White men earn \$50,000 or more while only 3.4 percent of Black males earn \$50,000 or more (Hacker, 1992). 44.8 percent of Black children live below the poverty line compared to 15.9 percent of White children (Hacker, 1992). Statistics indicate that it is more difficult for Blacks to obtain housing, mortgages and loans (Hacker, 1992).

These experiences, taken individually or combind, form an often invisible yet tanglible stress both chronic and acute in nature that face Black individuals. Beginning in elementary school, the primary socializing agent outside the family, Blacks are confronted with negative, devaluing and often punitive expectations and treatment. Black students are less encouraged in the educational system and for those who persist they are often unable to find employment or when they do to be paid less than majority counterparts. Black males are more likely to go to jail or prison than to college. Black males are more likely to be killed in late adolescence and early adulthood in comparision to majority peers. Despite the civil rights movement and the corresponding legislation it spawned racism continues to thrive. And it is racism which creates the ongoing experience of stress and frustration to which many succumb. Racism occurs both on an individual or

interpersonal level and systemically in institutions ranging from school to government.

"Despite recent arguments to the contrary (for example, Wilson, 1978), racism has been and continues to be a central feature of the American social dynamic. In its mode of operation, racism involves a process of stigmatization, that is, a configuration of aggressive and debasing behaviors, practices, and dogmas by which to defame or discredit both the character and the identity of its victims (Wilkinson & Taylor, 1977). While racial oppression is an experience shared by all Black Americans, the process of systematic stigmatization has been experienced primarily by Black males (Herton, 1965; Staples, 1978; Genovese, 1974)" (Taylor, 1980, p. 141).

### Resilient Black Youth

In a study by Butler (1989) differences in world assumptions as a function of race were explored. Black undergraduates differed from their White counterparts on some dimensions of assumptive world beliefs. Specifically, Black subjects tended to view the world as less benevolent and felt they had less control over external events (Butler, 1989). No differences in self-esteem were observed between the two groups of college undergraduates. This research suggests that Black undergraduates share in common with individuals who have been victimized a sense of decreased world benevolence and a diminished sense of control over external events. Yet, inspite of a cognitive

set which reflects an awareness of potential victim status many young Blacks manifest a hardy adaptation.

If we define resilience or stress-resistence in terms of one's capacity to "work well, play well, love well and expect well" we can look to current behavioral functioning in characterizing such Black youth (Beardslee, 1989).

Academically successful Blacks manifest the following characteristics (1) increased responsibility, (2) increased socialization, and (3) increased achievement via conformance and communality as measured by the California Psychological Inventory (Rutter, 1979, p. 91).

Spencer (1988) states that Black children of preschool age show a preference for white imagery at the same time maintaining the belief that "I am a good person, I am Black" (p. 23). She goes on to report that around age seven children begin to become aware of the discrepency between the devalued status of Blacks and their own sense of self—worth (Spencer, 1988). Spencer (1988) notes that age seven is when Black children's aptitude scores begin to drop.

"I have found a strong relationship between Afrocentrism, positive self -esteem and success on performance tests for seven and nine year olds" (Spencer, 1988, p. 24).

Afrocentrism refers to the valuation of Black imagery or Blackness (Spencer, 1988; Clark, 1964). Spencer's (1988) work suggests that those children who were able to find value in themselves and their ethnic group were more able

to focus their attention academically, having successfully resolved the conflict between personal and group status. Spencer (1988) goes on to note that an Afrocentric identity is correlated with fewer clinical symptoms. She contends that resilient Black children are able to value themselves and their ethnic status despite the greater mainstream devaluation of Blackness.

In that racism is an integral part of American culture, Blacks in general and Black males in particular who manifest a hardy adaptation can be labelled resilient. For Black men there are many obstacles which can impede individual's ablility to successfully master developmental milestones. As more Black men are in jail and prison than in college, those who reach the college level demonstrate a significant resilience.

Looking at a college population limits the range of those considered resilient. It does not include resilience in Black individuals with lower levels of education, which recognizably excludes a large segment of the Black population. Further, the sample population is limited in having been drawn from a private, male, southern, Black university. In this context resilience in Black students who choose to attend public, co-educational, white institutions is not considered. However, in the context of this research, resilience within a sample of Black college males is explored.

Here resilience is conceived as a multidimensional quality. Further, resilience is operationalized with respect to age appropriate developmental tasks. Resilient subjects will be distinguished by their ability to "work well, love well, play well and expect well." Specifically, resilient participants are expected to demonstrate higher academic performance, good social relationships, ability to structure leisure time, high self-esteem and a sense of personal efficacy in comparison to less hardy peers. At the next level this research will focus on the possibility of relationship between afrocentrism, attributional style, a close/confiding relationship (mentor) and family environ with regards to the prediction of resilient Black college males.

#### CHAPTER II

### **METHODS**

### Subjects

Participants were comprised of undergraduate students at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. Morehouse is a historically Black, four year, private, liberal arts college. Data were obtained from 54 male and six female students. As data from few female students were obtained, females were excluded from the sample with the thought that there were too few for a meaningful gender comparision. The final subject pool was thus composed of 54 Black undergraduate males. All subjects were recruited from upper level courses in the department of Economics and Business.

### Procedures

The questionnaire was administered to subjects in two group administrations. The initial administration took place during the spring semester 1992 and the second administration occured during the fall semester of 1992. The 229 item questionnaire was self-administered. The measure took between an hour and an hour and a half to complete. Dr. John Williams, Chairman of the Department of Economics and Business, passed the questionnaire and informed consent out in his class instructing all students who wish to participate to sign the informed consent and take the measure home to be completed. Subjects were asked to complete the measure outside of class due to its length.

During both administrations a 2 to 3 week period was given for participants to complete the questionnaire with Dr. Williams providing a prompt for remaining questionnaires after 2 weeks.

### Instruments

Eleven measures were combind to form the 229 item questionnaire. The first was a six item demographic measure which included: gender, age, father's level of education, mother's level of education, father's occupation and mother's occupation. Father's occupation and mother's occupation were utilized to provide a measure of socioeconomic status (SES).

The second measure was Ronnie Janoff-Bulman's (1986)
Assumptive World Scale. The scale has 32 items which were
answered on an 8 point Likert scale ranging from disagree
completely to agree completely. The Assumptive World Scale
has 3 subscales: Benevolence of the World, Meaningfulness
of the World, and Self-Worth. Benevolence of the world
includes dimensions of the impersonal and personal world.
Meaningfulness of the world refers to principles of
distribution. This refers to the means by which individuals
perceive good and bad events to be distributed along the
dimensions of jusitce, controllability and chance. Lastly,
the subscale self-worth reflects components of self
-worthiness, self-controllability and luck.

The third measure entitled the First Experience of Blackness represents a series of 5 items developed by the author of this dissertation. The items emphasize the first time the individual experienced being treated differently because they were Black and whether or not individuals felt their life had been more difficult because they were Black.

### Criterion Measures

Resilience was defined in terms of those individuals who "work well, play well, love well and expect well." In the current work an absolutist concept of resilience was used. That is to say that to be considered resilient subjects had to meet or exceed predetermined cutoffs in all four areas. This is a very strict definition of resilience. Subjects who manifest resilience in three of the four domains, for example, are not considered resilient in the current study.

In a college population "work well" was specified in terms of academic achievement. Academic achievement was defined by current academic functioning which was evaluated by self-report of grade point average (GPA). Resilient participants were those who reported a grade point average of 2.5 or greater. This cutoff was predetermined by this author. As a GPA of 2.0 is average, 2.5 is half way between 2.0 and 3.0. Resilient subject had to distinguish themselves as being above average by common academic standards. Further, a series of 18 items (Academic History)

were written to obtain information regarding past and present academic behavior. These items included: college major, current GPA, high school GPA, time involved doing homework both in high school and college, receipt of academic honors, Dean' list, academic probation/suspension/expulsion and number of generations to attend college.

The variable "play well" referred to activities in which an individual was involved during times of nonwork or other requisite duties. This measure included 9 items. Four of the items were adapted with permission from the dissertation of Douglas Coatsworth (1991). The adaptation consisted of the following. Dr. Coatsworth's measure asked subjects to list their activities and then rate their level of involvement on a 3 point Likert scale ranging from very involved to not really involved. In the present body of work subjects were asked to rate their level of involvement in 3 different dimensions on a 5 or 6 point likert scale. First participants indicated frequency of involvement on a 5 point likert scale ranging from several times weekly to less than monthly. Second, subjects reported length of involvement in each activity on a 6 point likert scale ranging from less than one month to more than 10 years. Finally participants indicated level of enjoyment derived from participation in each activity on a 5 point likert scale ranging from consistently enjoy to rarely enjoy. Five additional items were added to examine the extent to which individuals participated in religious activity and how

important that was to them. Resilient subjects were those who reported the presence of one or more leisure activities. This means of distinguishing resilience on this criterion was selected because the items chosen to address "play well" did not represent a quantitative scale, but rather provided a qualitative picture.

"Love well" was defined in terms of social competence and was assessed with regards to an individuals friendships and dating relationships. Similarly these items did not represent a quantitative scale. Guided by the literature which suggested it would be age appropriate to identify a friendship group, a best friend and a deepening of intimate relationships these cutoffs were developed. A priori it was decided that resilient subjects would be distinguished by noting a best friend, a friendship group and a girlfriend/goes on dates/has opposite sex friends. This measure consisted of 57 items taken from the dissertation of Coatsworth (1991). Thirty-seven of the 57 items appeared in their original format. Twenty items were adapted as follows. Eleven items which pertain to personal things an individual would talk to or ask advice of a best friend, boyfriend or girlfriend and opposite sex friends were asked as open-ended questions. In this dissertation subjects were asked to list just 2 or 3 things they talked about or asked advice about which had the effect of containing the number of responses given. Those indivduals who gave more than 3 response had only the first

3 included. The next adaptation again involved open-ended questions. In this instance multiple choice categories were derived for 6 items. The categories were obtained by asking 7 Black students on a small, private, liberal arts campus in St. Paul, Minnesota to generate as many answers to the 6 items as possible. Students were approached as they entered the student union during the summer of 1992. Four male students and 3 female students participated. Multiple choice items were included if they appeared on 4 or more of the 7 respondents lists. A further adaptation consisted of multiple choice categories derived by the author of this dissertation for 2 open-ended items. Specifically, Dr. Coatsworth asked for the number of friends and the number of close friends. The first question, item 69, regarding number of friends was answered on a 5 point likert scale ranging from (a) 1 - 5 to (e) more than 20. The second item, #70, indicating number of close friends was answered on a 5 point likert scale ranging from (a) 0 - 2 to (e) more than 11. The final adaptation involved 1 item, in response to the question do you have friends of the opposite sex respondents were originally asked to provide the names of their opposite sex friends. In this research project subjects were simple asked to answer yes or no.

The variable "expect well" was defined in terms of self-concept. Self-concept was further specified and measured along 2 dimensions (1) self-esteem and (2) personal efficacy. Globally, "expect well" refers to a

positive valuation of the self and a positive view of one's own competence (ie. ability to master one's environment).

Self-esteem was measured by a 6 item scale (Hughes & Demo, 1989) which was a shortened version of the Rosenberg Self -Esteem Scale (1979). Responses to items were scored on a 4 point likert scale ranging from (1) almost always true to (2) never true. Resilient subjects were distinguished by a score of 18 or greater on this scale in accordance with the work of Demo and Hughes (1989). The personal efficacy measure (Hughes & Demo, 1989) included 4 items rated in a forced choice paradigm. Resilient subjects were those who manifest a score of 6 or higher on the Demo and Hughes (1989) measure.

The integrity of the independent variables was to some extent established in that they were being measured with instruments whose validity and reliability had been established through prior research with the exception of Academic History questions. Integrity of these measures was again assessed via statistical analysis at the completion of data collection. It was important to determine that the factors did load in such a way as to specify "work well, play well, love well and expect well", and that these criteria did in fact distinguish resilient from less hardy individuals.

# Predictor Variables

Afrocentrism was defined in terms of racial self -esteem and made reference to a positive valuation of

Blackness and Black people in general. Racial self-esteem
(Hughes & Demo, 1989) was a 13 item measure where responses
were indicated on a 4 point likert scale ranging from
(1) very true to (4) not at all true.

A close/confiding relationship was specified in terms of either the presence or absence of a relationship with an adult outside one's family who has acted as a positive role model or mentor. These items, 14 in total, were taken from the Coatsworth dissertation (1991). Ten of the items were utilized in their original format, answered in a multiple choice format. Four of the items were adapted as follows. These 4 items originally appeared as open-ended questions. In this dissertation respondents were asked to list only 2 or 3 things they talked about or asked advice about in the context of the close/confiding relationship. This served to constrain the number of responses given. For subject who provided more than 3 responses, only the first 3 were included here.

Family environ was a measure of family structure, family stability and intrafamilial relationship patterns. This measure consisted of 50 items (Coatsworth, 1991) which included constellation of family members, quality of family relations, degree of conflict and criticism between family members and information concerning family rules and decision making. Thirty-one items appeared in their original format from the dissertation of Coatsworth (1991), 8 were adapted, and the remaining eleven were developed by

this author. The adaptations ocurred as follows. Question 163 originally asked for the name and relationship of all family members. In this body of research participants were simply asked how many people are in your family. Question 164 was added to included number of family members who actually lived in the home while the individual grew up. Five questions concerning: family activities, how subjects would have liked to spend more time with mother/father and whether individuals would want to change their relationships with mother/father/sibling were originally asked as open-ended questions. In this dissertation subjects were asked to limit responses to 2 or 3. Question #200 which asked how rules were usually made in the home was originally an open-ended item. This author specified response choices for respondents in a multiple choice format. Choices included (a) mother made, (b) father made, (c) parents made together, (d) consensus of family members and (e) each family member made their own rules. These choices were thought to represent a comprehensive and realistic set of possibilities. Lastly, 10 items were developed by the author of this dissertation to include information as to whether or not parents divorced, were step-parents present, how critical individuals perceived their mother/father to be of them, and how frequently arguements ocurred between parents, parents/respondent and siblings/parents and respondent/siblings. Items regarding

criticism and arguing were multiple choice with response categories including (a) frequently, (b) occasionally, and (c) rarely.

Attibutional style was a predictor variable defined as the cause or reason an individual assigned for a given event. This variable was assessed by the short form of the Attributional Style Questionnaire (Peterson, 1982). This measure included 12 vignettes, 6 representing achievement situations and 6 emphasizing affiliative contexts. In response to each vignette subjects were asked to give a reason for each outcome. Following the assignment of causality, participants then rated each cause on a seven point Likert scale on three separate dimensions including (1) internal - external, (2) stable - unstable, (3) specific - global.

# CHAPTER III

#### RESULTS

# Description Of Subject Population

There were 54 Black male undergraduates, enrolled as fulltime students who participated in this study. The sample was drawn from students in upper level courses in the Department of Economics and Business. Further, all subjects were recruited from a small, private, traditionally Black, male, southern college.

Participants ranged in age from 19 to 28 years with a mean age 21.8 years. Of the 54 participants, 2 did not list their college majors. Among those who did 50 were economics and business majors. One subject majored in History and another double majored in Political Science and Philosophy. Fifty-two of the student participants were college seniors and 2 were in their junior year. There were no significant differences in socioeconomic status between resilient and nonresilient groups. Socioeconomic status was computated in reference to mother's and father's occupational status. As a whole, and in resilient and nonresilient groups, participants were from backgrounds of relative affluence.

There were 32 subjects in the resilient group and 22 subjects in the nonresilient group where resilience is defined as those who "work well, play well, love well and expect well."

### Pearson Correlation

Pearson correlations were computed for attributional style, assumptive world, self-esteem, efficacy, racial esteem and grade point average. For the variable grade point average there were no missing variables. Four of the 54 participants either did not respond or only partially responded to the attributional style items. As such only those subjects who answered all items were included in the analysis leaving an N of 50. On measures of assumptive world, self-esteem, efficacy and racial esteem there were 53 cases included in the analysis. Again this resulted from either total or partial omission of items from these measures. Please refer to Table 1.

### Student's T-Test

Students t-tests were computed for racial esteem, self -esteem, personal efficacy, attributional style, assumptive world, grade point average, age when first experienced being treated differently because of blackness, being Black makes life harder, father's occupation and mother's occupation. There were few statistically significant differences between resilient and nonresilient groups. On the measure of racial esteem, the resilient group had a mean of 41.42, a standard deviation of 4.58 and a standard error of .82. The nonresilient group had a mean of 41.68, standard deviation of 3.40 and a standard error of .73. The t value was .24 with 50.86 degrees of freedom yielding a

two-tailed probability of .81 which was not significant at the .05 level.

The Attibutional Styles Questionnaire was analyzed in terms of the individual subscales, with an additional t -test computed for a composite rating of good events and a composite rating of bad events. On the subscale good event: internality, the resilient group had a mean of 5.46, standard deviation of .96 and a standard error of .18. Nonresilient subjects had a mean of 5.05 with a standard deviation of .57 and a standard error of .12. The t value was -1.90 with 46.39 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .064. This result was not statistically significant at the .05 level. On the subscale good event: stability, the resilient group's mean was 5.96 with a standard deviation of .77 and a standard error of .14. The nonresilient group demonstrated a mean of 5.48 with a standard deviation of .58 and a standard error of .13. The t value was -2.53 with 47.91 degrees of freedom and a two -tailed probability of .015. This result was significant at the .05 level. On the subscale measure good event: globality, the mean of the resilient group was 5.45 with a standard deviation of .97 and a standard error of .18. The nonresilient group manifest a mean of 5.25, a standard deviation of .73 and a standard error of .16. The t value was -.82 with 47.91 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .42. There was no statistical significance. On the subscale measure bad event: internality, the

resilient group had a mean of 4.06, a standard deviation of .88 and a standard error of .16. The nonresilient group's mean was 3.92 with a standard deviation of .93 and a standard error of .20. The t value was -.53 with 41.89 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .597. Again no statistical significance was found. The subscale measure bad event: stability, yielded a mean of 4.05 for the resilient group with a standard deviation of .91 and a standard error of .17. The nonresilient group had a mean of 4.05 with a standard deviation of .94 and a standard error of .21. The t value was .01 with 42.2 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .99 which was not significant at the .05 level. On the subscale measure bad event: globality, the resilient group had a mean of 4.10, standard deviation of 1.16 and a standard error of .22. The nonresilient group had a mean of 4.21, a standard deviation of 1.18 and a standard error of .26. The t value was .33 with 42.68 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .74. This value was not significant at the .05 level. On the composite rating for good events, the resilient group obtained a mean of 5.62 with a standard deviation of .78 and a standard error of .15. The nonresilient group had a mean of 5.26 with a standard deviation of .45 and a standard error of .097. The t value was -2.07 with 45.83 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .04. This result was statistically significant at the .05 level. The mean for the resilient

group on the composite rating of bad events was 4.07 with a standard deviation of .68 and a standard error of .13. The nonresilient group's mean was 4.06 with a standard deviation of .77 and a standard error of .17. The t value was -.04 with 40.05 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .97 which was not significant at the .05 level.

Using the Assumptive World Scale T value were computed for Benevolence of the World (BW), Meaningfulness of the World (MW) and Self - Worth (SW). Resilient subjects mean for BW was 27.84 with a standard deviation of 12.23 and a standard error of 2.16. The nonresilient mean was 30.67 with a standard deviation of 8.94 and a standard error of 1.95. The t value was .97 with 50.32 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .34. This result was not significant at the .05 level. On the MW subscale, resilient subjects yielded a mean of 39.97 with a standard deviation of 8.04 and a standard error of 1.42. The nonresilient group had a mean of 37.57 with a standard deviation of 10.89 and a standard error of 2.38. The t value was -.87 with 34.06 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .39 which was not statistically significant. On the subscale measure SW, the resilient group obtained a mean of 63.69 with a standard deviation of 8.36 and a standard error of 1.48. The nonresilient group yielded a mean of 59.90, the standard deviation was 10.04 and the standard error was 2.19. The t value was -1.43 with 37.36 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .16 which again was not significant at the .05 level.

Using the short form of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, resilient subjects yielded a mean of 22.42 with a standard deviation of 1.69 and a standard error of .495. The t value was -3.15 with 36.15 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .003. This result was statistically significant at the .05 level. Using Hughes and Demo's short form for Personal Efficacy, the resilient group had a mean of 7.52 with a standard deviation of .51 and a standard error of .09. The nonresilient group had a mean of 6.41, standard deviation of 1.22 and a standard error of .26. The t value was -4.01 with 26.20 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .000. This result was also significant at the .05 level. All articipants were asked their age when first experienced being treated differently because of race: the mean age for resilient subjects was 13.35 with a standard deviation of 4.13 and a standard error of .81. The nonresilient group's mean was 9.81 with a standard deviation of 4.09 and a standard error of 1.02. The t value was -.71 with 32.15 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .011 which was significant at the .05 level.

Subjects were also asked if they felt their lives had been more difficult because they were Black. The mean for the resilient group was 2.93, standard deviation 1.13 and a standard error of 21. The nonresilient group had a mean of

2.95 with a standard deviation of 1.05 and a standard error of .22. The t value was .08 with 47.05 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .94. This result was not significant.

T values were computed for resilient and nonresilient groups based on self reported grade point average. The mean for resilient participants was 2.93 with a standard deviation of .32 and a standard error of .057. The nonresilient group yielded a mean of 2.79 with a standard deviation of .38 and a standard error of .06. The t value was -1.44 with 40.06 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .158 which was not statistically significant.

The t statistic was also used to analyze father's and mother's occupation. On the measure of father's occupation, the resilient group yielded a mean 2.23 with a standard deviation of 1.55 and a standard error of .28. The nonresilient group had a mean of 2.68, standard deviation 1.94 and a standard error of .41. The t value was .90 with 39.05 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .38. As such, there was no significant difference between resilient and nonresilient groups in terms of father's occupational status. Regarding mother's occupational status the resilient group yielded a mean of 2.43 with a standard deviation of .79 and a standard error of .15. The non resilient group had a mean od 3.10, standard deviation of 1.71 and a standard error of .38. The t value was 1.63 with

24.81 degrees of freedom and a two-tailed probability of .12. Again this result was not significant at the .05 level.

# Cronbach's Alpha For Assumptive World, Attributional Style, Self-Esteem, Personal Efficacy And Racial Esteem

Table 3 presents the standardized item alphas for all subscales of both the Assumptive World Scale and the Attributional Styles Questionnaire, for the short forms of the Self-Esteem, Personal Efficacy Scale, and the Racial Esteem Scales. The analysis was performed for the entire population combining resilient and nonresilient subjects. Further, analyses were performed for the scales as a whole, for subscales and for individual items. Alphas for the Assumptive World subscales ranged in values from .59 to .87 which would seem to indicate a reasonable degree of internal consistency among scales. The alpha value for the Assumptive World Scale as a whole was .77.

Of the six subscales comprising the Attributional Styles Questionnaire one yielded a questionably low alpha value. The alpha for the subscale bad event: internality was .40. The alphas for the remaining 5 subscales ranged from .65 to .73. Again these values suggest a reasonable degree of internal consistency among the five remaining sunscales. Cronbach's alphas were also obtained for all good subscales combind and all bad event subscales combind. The alpha for good events composite was .85 and the alpha for bad events composite was .74. As such, the reliability

of subscale items was increased slightly when all items are combind.

Cronbach's alphas were computed for self-esteem, efficacy and racial esteem. The alpha for the short form of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale was .59. This value was slightly lower than reported values by Rosenberg using the original long form. A mild decrease in reliability appeared to have resulted possibly in response to the decrease in items. The alpha value obtained for the short form of the Hughes and Demo Personal Efficacy Scale was .51. This value was also questionnably low. Refer to Table 21 for individual item alphas. Lastly, the alpha for the Hughes and Demo Racial Esteem Scale, again a short form, was .65. Refer to Table 3 for the individual item alphas which ranged in value from .61 to .66.

## Chi-Square

The Chi-Square statistic was performed for the variable Mentor by group (resilient, nonresilient). Mentor was a dichotomous variable, subjects either had a mentor or they did not. This statistic was computed with a N of 53. One participant did not respond to this item. Of those who responded, 26 of the 32 resilient subjects reported having a mentor. In the nonresilient group 15 of 22 reported having a mentor. The Pearsons value was 1.81 with 1 degree of freedom. Not significance at .18. The continuity correction value was 1.02 with 1 degree of freedom which was not significant at the .05 level. The likelihood ratio

as 1.79 with 1 degree of freedom, not significant at .18. The Mantel-Haenszel test for linear association yielded a value of 1.77 with 1 degree of freedom which was not significant, .18. Simply stated there was no significant difference between resilient and nonresilient subjects on the variable mentor. Refer to Tables 48 and 49 for frequencies of length of time known mentor and amount of contact with mentor. On the whole the resilient group was characterized by a trend toward longer relationship history with more frequent contact with a mentor in comparison to nonresilient peers.

## Logistic Regression

The Logistic Regression statistic was utilized to explore the predictive power of the predictor variables. Variables that were hypothesized to predict resilient group membership status included attributional style, racial esteem, mentor and family environ. For attributional style good event composite rating and bad event composite rating were entered into the regression equation separately. Family environ constituted a series of multiple choice and open-ended questions. Of the 49 items regarding family environ, 9 were selected for inclusion in the logistic regression equation. These nine were selected because they reflect the core concept of family environ with respect to family closeness, family structure (ie. rules) and family conflict (ie. degree of argument and criticism).

Using only the criterion variables ("work well, play well, love well and expect well") one was able to predict group membership, both resilient and nonresilient, with 56.52% accuracy. Thus, there was a slightly greater than 50% chance of correctly predicting group membership without knowledge of the predictor variables. Of the hypothesized predictive variables attributional style bad events composite, racial esteem, presence of family rules, whether parents argued with eachother or the subject, and whether mother and/or father was critical of the participant contributed nothing to the predictive value of the model.

Attributional styles good event composite rating improved the overall predictive power of the model to 67.39%. The chi-square for the model was 12.86 with 1 degree of freedom, significant at the .0003 level. The chi -square for improvement was also 12.86 with 1 degree of freedom and a significance level of .0003. When closeness to family was added to the model the predictive power increased to 78.26%. The chi-square for the model was 18.84 with 2 degrees of freedom, significant at the .0001 level. The chi-square for improvement was 5.98 with 1 degree of freedom and a significance level of .0145. Adding were rules clear to the equation increased the accuracy of prediction to 82.61%. The model chi-square value was 23.54 with 3 degrees of freedom, significant at the .0000 level. The improvement chi-square value was 4.698 with 1 degree of freedom and a significance level of .0302. When parents

divorced was factored into the equation, predictive accuracy was enhanced overall to 80.43%. The improvement chi-square value was 3.800 with 1 degree of freedom and a significance level of .0512. Lastly, including family togetherness in the model increased the overall predictive power power to 84.78%. The model chi-square was 31.34 with 5 degrees of freedom and a significance level and a significance level of .0000. The improvement chi-square value was 3.998 with 1 degree of freedom, significant at the .0456 level. Refer to Tables 5 through 10 for presentation of these results.

# Percentages For Descriptive Data

Questions regarding family background were adapted from the dissertation of Douglas Coatsworth, Ph.D. Further, several questions were written by this author regarding subjects experience of being Black. None of these items constituted a scale. Responses were either multiple choice or open-ended. These results, reported in the form of percentages, are presented in Tables 12 through 24, for resilient and nonresilient groups.

As was hypothesized resilient subjects reported more time doing family activities (96.8% versus 81.8%) compared to nonresilient peers. For resilient subjects family activities included: vacation/travel (63.3%), meals (40.0%), tv/movies (33.3%), and church (30.0%). Nonresilient peers indicated the following family activities: meals (55.6%), vacation/travel (38.9%), church

(27.8%) and tv/movies (22.2%). Resilient subjects reported a wider range of family activities which included: games (10.0%), shopping/mall (6.7%) and nightclubs/partying (3.3%); none of the nonresilient subjects indicated family participation in these activities.

Resilient participants also reported more independent time with mother (93.5%) and father (71.0%) compared to nonresilient peers (mother: 77.3%; father: 63.6%).

Resilient subjects further indicated they talked with family members about personal matters (mother: 80.6%; father: 67.7%; siblings: 67.7%) more so than nonresilient peers (mother: 72.7%; father: 54.5%; siblings: 59.1%).

Resilient and nonresilient groups indicated similar satisfaction in their relationships with mother (resilient: 90.3%; nonresilient: 90.9%) and siblings (resilient: 71.0%; nonresilient: 72.7%). Interestingly, resilient subjects reported less satisfaction in their relationships with their fathers (58.1% versus 68.2%) compared to nonresilient participants.

Of those who indicated a wish to improve or change the relationship with their parents, resilient subjects indicated a desire for more time together (mother: 57.1%; father: 40.0%). Less resilient peers reported the form of change they wished for in the context of parental relationships as follows: improved communication (mother: 50.0%; father: 50.0%), time together (mother: 25.0%; father: 33.3%) and closer relationship (mother: 25.0%;

father: 33.3%). Regarding change in the nature of sibling relationships, resilient subjects reported the following: improved communication (25.0%), time together (25.0%) and closer relationship (50.0%). Less resilient peers indicated a slightly wider range of ways they would like to change the nature of their sibling relationships. The forms of change reported included: improved communication (16.7%), time together (50.0%), closer relationships (16.7%), more honesty (16.7%) and more love (16.7%).

Twenty-nine percent of the resilient subjects indicated their parents had divorced while they were growing up. Of those from divorced families, 9.7% stated they had lived with a step-parent. Nonresilient subjects reported a higher rate of divorce (40.9%). Twenty-seven percent of the nonresilient individuals indicated they had lived with a step-parent. For resilient subjects, 33.3% reported being close to their step-parent and 66.7% indicated they were not close at all to their step-parent. Nonresilient participants reported greater closeness to step-parents with 28.6% indicating very close status, 57.1% indicating close status and 14.3% indicating not very close. These results are found in Table 11.

Resilient subjects reported the following degrees of closeness to their family as a whole: very close - 48.4%, close - 35.5%, fairly close - 6.5% and not very close 9.7%. Less resilient counterparts reported the following results regarding family closeness: very close - 77.3%, close -

9.1%, fairly close - 9.1% and not very close - 4.5%. In general, both groups experienced similar degrees of familial closeness with 83.9% of resilient individuals reporting very close or close family status, and 86.4% of nonresilient participants reporting very close or close family status. Table 20 presents percentages for degree of family closeness and degree of closeness to individual members.

Another area of family focus included how decisions and rules were made. 33.3 percent of resilient participants stated their parents made decisions, while 66.7% reported having some input in the decision making process. In the nonresilient group, 31.8% indicated parents made the decisions and 59.1% reported they had some input in the decision making process. However, dissimilar to the resilient group, 9.1% of the nonresilient participants stated they made their own decisions without parental input.

Regarding rules, 96.8% of resilient subjects indicated the presence of family rules, and 90.3% stated the rules were clear. For nonresilient individuals, 100% reported family rules while only 81.8% indicated the rules were clear. In the resilient group, family rules were made in the following ways: mother made - 14.3%, father made - 3.6%, parents made together - 78.6% and family consensus -3.6%. Less resilient peers reported family rules were made in the following ways: mother made - 9.1%, father made -

13.6%, parents made together - 63.6% and family consensus - 13.6%.

Participants were also asked to respond to how critical parents had been of them while growing up.

Resilient subjects responded as follows to mother critical of you: frequently - 19.4%, occasionally -51.6% and rarely - 29.0% The resilient group indicated the following results in response to paternal criticism: frequently -30.0%, occasionally - 30.0% and rarely - 40.0%. Nonresilient subjects reported a critical mother: frequently - 38.1%, occasionally - 33.3% and rarely - 28.6%. This group indicated a critical father: frequently - 45.5%, occasionally - 22.7% and rarely - 31.8%. See table 23 for presentation of these results.

Lastly, subjects were asked to respond to the frequency of arguments between family members. Resilient subjects reported parents argue with eachother: frequently - 16.1%, occasionally - 29.0% and rarely - 54.8%. This group indicates parents argued with respondent frequently - 9.7%, occasionally - 54.8% and rarely - 35.5%. The resilient group reported their parents argued with siblings: frequently - 13.0%, occasionally - 56.5% and rarely - 30.4%. Further, resilient individuals indicated they argued with their siblings frequently - 34.8%, occasionally - 56.5% and rarely - 8.7%. Nonresilient subjects reported their parents argued with eachother: frequently - 19.0%, occasionally - 42.9% and rarely -

38.1%. This group reported their parents had argued with them: frequently -18.2%, occasionally - 50.0% and rarely - 31.8%. The nonresilient group reported their parents argued with siblings: frequently - 15.8%, occasionally - 47.4% and rarely - 36.8%. In addition, the nonresilient group reported they argued with their siblings frequently - 33.3%, occasionally - 44.4% and rarely - 22.2%. Table 24 displays these results.

Participants were asked to respond to items addressing their experience of being Black. In response to an item regarding one's first experience of being treated differently because of racial identity, resilient subjects indicated a wider range of first experiences. It is also noteworthy that one resilient subject reported a positive first experience of racially differential treatment. For resilient subjects the first experience of being treated differently attributed to Black status included: unwarrented suspicion - 13.3%, exclusion/isolation - 30.4%, teacher discrimination - 21.7%, denied advancement - 8.7%, athletic stereotypes - 4.3%, economic stereotypes - 4.3%, verbal abuse - 8.7%, asked to dance (good) - 4.3%. Nonresilient subjects responded with the following first experiences: unwarrented suspicion - 7.7%, exclusion/isolation - 46.2%, teacher discrimination -15.4%, denied advancement - 7.7%, athletic stereotypes -15.4% and harrassed by a group of whites - 7.7%. These results are listed in Table 25.

Resilient subjects indicated the following responses regarding the extent to which being Black has made life more difficult: consistently difficult - 10.3%, mostly difficult - 24.1%, somewhat difficult - 37.9%, slightly difficult - 17.2% and not at all difficult - 10.3%. Nonresilient participants reported being Black made life more difficult: consistently - 9.1%, mostly - 18.2%, somewhat - 50%, slightly - 13.6% and not at all - 9.1%. See table 26 for these results. In response to the ways in which being Black makes life more difficult, resilient subjects stated the following: denied opportunity 65.0%, differential treatment 50.0%, having to work harder to prove self 30.0%, need for greater awareness of own actions 10.0%, feeling inferior 5.0% and stress 5.0%. Nonresilient individuals responded as follows: denied opportunity 41.7%, differential treatment 91.7%, and having to work harder to prove one's self 16.7%. These results are presented in Table 27.

### CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION

The study of resilience has a well documented history in the literature. Interest in resilience has grown out of research focusing on children at high risk for the development of psychopathology. The repeated observation of youngsters who manifest successful or competent development despite harsh or stressful life contexts has led researchers (Garmezy, 1983; Rutter, 1979; Masten et. al, 1990) to look for qualities of the individual or environment which support this level of adaptation. As such, resilience is construed in the context of an individual's ability to cope with difficult life events either acute or chronic in nature. In this light, manifestation of resilience necessitates both exposure to stressful experiences and demonstration of the ability to manage such experiences in a positively adaptive manner.

In the current study mesures of self-esteem, personal efficacy, gradepoint average, social relationships and leisure activities represented the criteria by which resilient subjects were differentiated from less hardy peers. Self-esteem and personal efficacy distinguished resilient from nonresilient peers. The variables grade point average, social relationships and leisure activities did not differentiate resilient from nonresilient subjects. Beyond distinguishing resilient from non resilient subjects, the present work sought possible predictors of

resilient status among Black college males. Turning to predictor variables, some features of attributional style and family environ enhanced the accuracy of assigning membership to resilient and nonresilient groups.

Specifically attributional style good event:stablility and good event: composit rating, and for family environ - closeness to family, rules clear, divorce (inverse) and family activities together predicted resilient status in the current sample. Afrocentrism and presence of a mentor did not predict resilient status in the present sample.

Another area of significant findings is the degree to which Black males who participated in the study perceived racism. In the context of the current research, the source of stress against which resilience is illuminated refers to the treatment one experiences as an individual, as well as a group, in response to being Black. Stress in the form of systematic and institutionalized racism is experienced by Black Americans in both acute and chronic forms throughout the life cycle. This differential and devaluing treatment is experienced both personally and collectively. Seventy -five percent of students who participated in this study acknowledged their belief that their lives were more difficult because they were Black. As such, it is not the case that individuals were unaware of racism and thus resilient. Further, there was little difference in the extent to which resilient and nonresilient subjects saw being Black as making life more difficult. These findings

contribute to the strength of the current model which defines resilience in the face of adversity. As noted in the literature review, racism has become an integral part of American culture. Despite cosmetic attempts to remedy the situation, such as affirmative action, the oppresion of people of color continues. Black individuals daily confront denied opportunity and negative stereotypes and associations regarding Blackness. While on the surface equal opportunity and personal freedom are espoused constitutionally behavioral discrepencies abound.

Students in the current study noted discrimination by teachers, confrontation with negative economic and financial stereotypes, verbal slurs, unwarrented suspicion and others physically moving away from them in response to their Blackness. As such, these subjects were able to identify and articulate the ways in which they experienced and continue to experience the impact of racism. The manifestation of adaptive coping in the face of both acute and chronic adversity bespeaks their resilience. Inspite of the ways in which these individuals repeatedly experienced the devaluation of Blackness, whether personally or as a result of group membership, they also demonstrated the ability to value themselves, identify the parameters of their control and to demonstrate competence in age appropriate developmental tasks.

# Resilience, Self-Esteem And Efficacy

In the current study self-esteem and efficacy both distinguished resilient from nonresilient peers. This finding was in the expected direction with resilient Black males, as a group, demonstrating higher levels (statistically significant) of self-esteem and efficacy in comparision to less hardy peers. Self-esteem refers to feelings of personal worth or valuation. The early parent -infant bond is noted as the original source for developing self-esteem. Beyond the initial infant-caretaker relationship, relationships with significant others including family members, peers and teachers also become contributing sources to the further development and maintence of esteem.

While Blacks have the opportunity for many experiences which devalue their Blackness, resilient subjects in the current study manifest high self-esteem in comparison to less hardy peers. Resilient subjects reported greater family closeness, more time involved in family activities together and infrequently feeling criticized by their parents. As such these individuals note their families as a source from which to nourish and maintain their self -esteem. It is quite likley that experiences of a devaluing nature are engendered at the hands of individuals not within the circle of significant others in these subjects lives. Specifically, messages about one's own worth are derived from significant others versus the greater culture.

In contrast to the idea of a single source or standard from which esteem might be derived, Harriet McCombs (1985) suggests that Black self-esteem might derive from a separate source than White esteem. McCombs (1985) reflects that much of the current esteem literature emphasizes a Western or Eurocentric view of the self and thus sources of esteem. This ideology of self largely emphasizes aspects of individuality, separation and uniqueness. McCombs states

"The ideology of African-American identity, with its focus upon social sameness, commonality and connectedness with others is a a non-Western conception of experience" (1985, p.2).

As such, early observed differences in levels of self
-esteem between Blacks and Whites may reflect inadequate
conceptualization of the esteem concept and assume Black
individuals internalize cultural devaluation. Here it is
suggested that early research lacked sensativity in
accurately specifying the components of Black self-esteem,
assuming it to be nurished by sources common to esteem of
dominant culture members.

Another area of difference between resilient and nonresilient participants was that resilient subjects tended to rely on more than one source to nurture diminished self-esteem. That is to say that even though an individual has high self esteem, specific experiences (e.g. doing poorly in a class, losing an important relationship) may temporarily diminish one's esteem. Subjects in the

present research were asked to think of the last time they felt they had failed at something and identify factors that helped them to feel good about themselves again. Twelve of 29 resilient subjects identified 2 or 3 factors that helped them to feel good about themselves again. In contrast only 2 of 14 subjects in the nonresilient group identified more than 1 factor that helped to restore esteem. Relationships were a key factor in helping to nurture wounded esteem. Another noted difference between resilient and nonresilient subjects, in the current work, was that 8 resilient subjects identified increased effort as one means to regain feelings of worth while no participants in the nonresilient groups cited effort. Resilient subjects, different from less hardy peers, appera in the current work more resourceful in tending to diminished self-esteem. Further, the current work suggests resilient subjects had a broader foundation upon which their self-esteem was supported. This broader foundation includes relationships with family and friends, the ability to put into perspective experiences of failure and a sense that it was within their control to restore diminished esteem . Graham (1986) notes that effort is an important factor in explaining the outcomes among Black children.

Efficacy refers to one's ability to bring about a desired effect. In some senses it is synonymous with personal power or the extent to which one perceives control over environmental contingencies. Neuchterlein (1970) and

Garmezy and Neuchterlein (1972) report that a sense of personal power or perceived relationship between efficacy and environmental outcomes characterized the resilient students in their sample. Pines (1979) indicates that resilience is engendered in the context of consistent environmental mastery attempts. Consistent mastery attempts lead to the development of a sense of competence which is characterized by realistic parameters of one's own personal power. Janoff-Bulman (1989) suggests that healthy individuals are described by a greater sense of their own assests and liablities. Similarly, Kobasa (1979) reports that those "high in control or the tendency to act and feel as if one is influential in the face of varied contigencies of life are typically characterized as hardy. This finding is supported by the current research. Resilient subjects manifest statistically higher scores on a measure of personal efficacy than participants in the nonresilient group. Resilient subjects while acknowlegding an awareness of racism would appear to demonstrate the ability to realistically assess the parameters of their control within a greater context of limitation as a result of Blackness. Resilient subjects did not manifest a reported sense helplessness in the face of adversity. They both perceived and demonstrated belief in their ability to bring about desired outcomes. This would suggest a concomittant ability not to internalize negative cultural stereotypes which

devalue Blackness and likely distinguishes them from less hardy peers.

# Resilience And Attributional Style

Attributional style is relevent in the current work in that aversive events are common among Black individuals in the form of ongoing racism which is an integral part of their experience in the dominant cultural milieu. It was of interest to explore the possibility of difference in the attributions of resilient and and nonresilient subjects. Specifically, could there be discernable differences in how resilient versus nonresilient subjects might make meaning of their experiences of racism.

The answer to this question is not suggested in the current research in the specific context of attributions of racism. However, the current research evidenced some differences in attributions between resilient and nonresilient groups on the Attributional Styles Questionnaire (Peterson et al., 1982). Resilient subjects were distinguished by attributing good events to stable causes. Further, resilient subjects differed in a statistically significant manner on the good events; composite rating from the nonresilient group. While not statistically significant, resilient subjects also demonstrated a trend toward attributing good events to internal causes (student's t-test: t = -1.90, 2 tailed prob. = .06).

As previously noted, attributions specific to the experience of racism were not pursued here yet findings of relevence are noted. Specifically, resilient subject's ability to perceive good events as stable may also help to establish one's sense of attainment of good outcomes despite adverse cultural experiences. These individuals are quite likely characterized by a greater ability to see both the good and bad simultaneously in comparison to less hardy peers. I would suggest their focus is not soley the adversity. However, nor are they in a position of denying the presence of adversity in the form of racism.

Resilient subjects also manifest a trend toward attributing good events to internal causes. This finding suggests these subjects felt that to some extent the ability to achieve good or desired outcomes was within their control. In the context of this research, resilient individuals are those who perceive a sense of their own efficacy despite the ocstacles racism manifests for them. Restrictions and limitations are noted and coping strategies adopted which permit competent mastery of developmental milestones which characterize resilience.

Gurin and Epps found that

"Blacks who perceived discriminating obstacles and placed blame for problems on the system barriers (rather than attributing lack of success to their own personal inadequacies) tended to be more motivated and realistic than those who categorically denied the existence of racial discrimination as a personal problem" (1975, p. 75).

These results taken together might suggest that some flexiblity in attributions may be most adaptive. One is best served by being able to acknowledge external or structural barriers that exist in combination with an accurate assessment of one's own capabilities.

Rhodewalt and Agustsdottir (1984) propose a relationship between hardiness (hardy individuals) and the way in which an individual perceives life events. From their research they concluded that

"hardy individuals were more likely than nonhardy individuals to perceive events as positive and themselves in control" (Rhodewalt & Agustsdottir, 1984, p. 217).

Rhodewalt and Agustsdottir (1984) go on to specify an "unhealthy" attributional style characterized by a tendency to attribute negative or aversive events to internal, stable and global factors and positive events as resulting from external, unstable and specific sources. In this context, positive outcomes are beyond the reach of the such individuals. Specifically, good outcomes are perceived as external to the self, transient in nature, and less likely to occur. While negative outcomes are construed as resulting from within the individual, more permanent in nature and pervasive. This "unhealthy" attributional style has been reported in association with depression (Seligman, Abramson, Semmel, & von Beyer, 1979). As uncontrollable bad events are attributed to sources beyond the individuals control depressive features are thought to result which

include a component of behavioral helplessness. However, nonresilient subjects in this study did not replicate the "unhealthy" or depressive attributional pattern. No unifying attributional style was noted among this group of subjects. The pattern of attributions noted among resilient participants may lend support to Tyler et al.'s (1988) formulation that moderate internality is associated with optimal functioning.

Particularly for Black subjects in this study, moderate internality may represent a more hardy style in that it represents a perspective more congruent with reality. It may reflect a sense of control which is tempered by the inherent limitations of being a minority member in a majority culture. In this way one does not perceive the obstacles as insurmountable and thus give up. This finding indicates that resilient Black college males perceive a world where the distribution of good events is relatively stable and where to some extent good outcomes may be derived through one's own effort. This vantage of life permitting both a sense of hope and optimism. Resilience And Black Families

Traditionally research on the Black family has characterized it in negative and dysfunctional terms (McAdoo, 1988).

"The pathological and dysfunctional view of black families has been primarily related to the cultural ethnocentric approach and associated with the work of E. Franklin Frazier (1939) and Daniel P. Moynihan (1965). The works of these scholars have culminated in the adaptation of social policies predicated on the assumption that the black family is unstable, disorganized, and unable to provide its members with the social and psychological support and development needed to assimilate fully into American society" (Dodson, 1988, p. 77).

Scholars have consistently cited dysfunction and chaos in Black families to the exclusion of exploration of its strengths. As such the strength and value of Black families has tended to be underreported or ignored. One possible explaination is that most frequently Black families are evaluated against the norms of the White middle class rather than being explored for their own value or adaptiveness. Thus differences tend to be interpreted in pejorative terms. Further, Blacks as a group of study are often viewed as being relatively homogeneous often not taking into account social class and geographic distinctions, and allowing for the type of variation which is also existent in the dominant culture.

Contrary to accepted belief the "typical" black family is characterized by an equalitarian not matriarchal pattern with the Black husband/father taking an active role in decision making and performance of household responsiblities (Hill, 1972). The current research indicates that the typical family for both resilient and nonresilient groups was characterized by nuclear structure.

Further, decision making was predominantly reported as a joint parental tasks versus either parent exclusively. As a whole, subjects from this study described family experiences quite structured and traditional in nature.

Kinship bonds are a significant source of strength within the Black community, in general, and for Black families, specifically. The myth has long survived that the Black family is "broken" and nonnuclear in structure. Many authors have concluded that the consequences of slavery have damaged and/or destroyed the Black family in an irreparable manner. On the contrary, this position appears as either a distortion or misunderstanding of acutuality. Black families continue to exist as a nuclear structure but also are characterized by extended and adoptive family members. It is within the family both nuclear and extended that the Black individual derives strength and is afforded some measure of buffer against the discrimination and devaluation of Blackness prevelent in the greater culture.

Several authors have proposed that the strength of extended family is strongest among groups most powerless in mainstream culture (Dubey, 1971; Stack, 1974; McAdoo, 1978). Staples (1976) suggests that the Black family acts as a buffer against the pervasiveness of racism faced by all Black Americans and in the service of providing needed supports which are often unavailable to Blacks through conventional channels. Specifically, the extended family is an arena where individuals may turn for

nurturance to esteem, demonstration of responsibility and competence, physical shelter and assistance, acceptance and support. To large extent, the extended family with its varied roles serves as a world within a world where experiences denied in the dominant cultural milieu may be obtained. McAdoo (1978) reports that this pattern of extended family persists even after individuals and/or families have moved in to middle income groups.

Above all Black families stress the importance of affiliation and collectivity which is thought to represent an Afrocentric orientation. The strong sense of family emphasizes that for Black individuals our source of strength is within the family. The family is where Black individuals derive their identity and being. Unlike other groups our families are the source of our strength not a deterent to personal or individual aspirations. In fact, one's individual aspirations are realized only with the support of family members.

The sense of God is considered of fundamental importance for Blacks in that the perception or belief in a supreme power or will greater than one's own is seen as a vital coping resource and place of strength. Not only does a belief in God help individuals to cope with a hostile mainstream environment, but the Black church has long been noted as a place of opportunity for power, responsibility and leadership when such have been denied in the greater cultural milieu. Resilient participants were distinguished

from less hardy peers by noting a greater importance of religion in their lives.

Black parents are faced with a difficult and unique task. In rearing their children Black adults must prepare them for participation and acceptance within the Black community as well as in the White community if they are to survive. Some parents address this requirement in a direct fashion. Specifically, in the retelling and recounting of past experiences of oppression and discrimination Black children are prepared for what lies ahead. In this way they are able to develop an accurate sense of the barriers they will face and the abilities and resources they have to overcome such obstacles. Richardson (1981) notes that many Black parents emphasize the development of high self-esteem and self-confidence in the service of successful negotiation in a racists society. These qualities were noted in resilient subjects in this sample.

Family Environ was hypothesized to predict resilient status. These findings indicate that family closeness, doing activities as a family, having clear rules and divorce (an inverse predictor) were predictive of resilient status. The importance of family experience among resilient subjects is noted. In this sample, degree of closeness to individual parent (ie. mother, father) was not found to be predictive of resilient status. Similarly, the variable Decision Making bore no relationship to resilient status in this sample. Degree to which subjects felt

criticized by either parent, frequency of arguments between family members, nor presence of rules were predictive of resilient status. The lack of predictive value for these variables is likely to derive in part from the narrowness of the current sample. As such little difference existed between resilient and nonresilient group members in these areas of family functioning. This lack of difference suggests that both groups experienced a level of acceptance and lack of conflict in the home reflecting coherent and supportive family functioning.

In this sample, 83.8% of resilient subjects reported being close to very close to mother and 51.7% to father. In the nonresilient group 76.2% reported being close to very close to mother and 54.5% close to very close to father. 96.8% of resilient subjects stated there were family rules with 90.3% indicating the rule were clear. The nonresilient group differed somewhat in that while 100% reported the presence of family rules, the rules were less clear (81.8%) than in resilient homes (90.3%) In this context rules clear was predictive of resilient status. An important factor thus appears to be not only the presence of rules but their clarity. Presence and clarity together providing important structure and consistency in the lives of these young people. Resilient participants indicated feeling less criticized by parents (frequently: mother - 19.4%, father -30%) in comparison to less hardy peers frequently: mother -38.1%, fathers - 45.5%). While these differences show a

trend in the hypothesized direction, with resilient subjects feeling less criticized by parents, this variable was not predictive of resilient status in this sample.

# Resilience, Grade Point Average, Leisure Activities And Social Relationships

Grade point average, number of leisure activities participated in and social relationships were hypothesized to differentiate resilient from nonresilient subjects. While these criteria were adequate for the simple sorting purposes of assigning membership to resilient and nonresilient groups, they did not do so in a statistically meaningful way. GPA, leisure activities and peer relationships represented operationalized definitions of the criteria for resilience following along developmental norms. The failure of these criteria to distinguish resilient and nonresilient subjects is thought to result from the narrowness of the current sample in combination with an absolutist conceptualization of resilience. Thus, nonresilient participants were labelled such by failure to meet all four cutoffs on criteria for resilience. As such, many in the nonresilient group manifest resilience in several criterion dimensions but were labelled such for not meeting cutoffs in all four areas simultaneously.

This concept of measuring the "work well" dimension by GPA was adapted from the research of Coatsworth (1991).

However, it represents a reduction of the fullness of this measure from its original form. Specifically, Coatsworth

(1991) used not only self reported GPA, but GPA obtained from school transcripts, IQ scores, teacher ratings and a measure of employment status in combination to determine "work well." Clearly removing other components of the definition weakened its usefulness. Supplemental questions added by this author revealed great similarities in academic status between resilient and nonresilient groups indicating they did not represent two distinct populations on this dimension. This further underlies this lack of finding. Resilient subjects reported a mean of 14.8 hours spent on studies compared to a mean of 15 hours for nonresilient subjects. Resilient subjects indicated a mean of 5.1 days of the week spent doing homework compared to a mean of 4.9 for the nonresilient group. In this way there appeared to be no difference in study habits between the two groups. Similarly, resilient subjects did not differ much in reciept of academic awards with 27 of 32 having received such, and 14 of 22 having received academic award for the nonresilient group. There was little difference in the rate of suspension, expulsion or probation in this sample. Resilient subjects reported 3 of 32 had been suspended or expelled, largely for fighting. Nonresilient subjects indicated 4 of 22 had either been suspended or expelled again for fighting. These findings are in the hypothesized direction of resilience and suggest the considerable resilience of the group as a whole. Of note, is that resilient subjects were more likely to have

been on the Dean's List (20 of 32) in comparison to nonresilient peers (8 of 22) in this sample.

Leisure activities have been shown in the literature to be associated with higher levels of psychological and physical well being (e.g. Loesch & Wheeler, 1982; Kelly, 1980; Dowd, 1984). Such activities are noted to provide opportunities for experiences of mastery, self expression, creativity, self-fulfillment, self-definition, autonomy, and development of relationship skills. Maton (1990) reports that leisure involvement bears a strong relationship to well being in adolescence. He includes college students at the tail end of adolescence. Further, Maton (1990) notes that decreased leisure participation is construed as a major negative stress for young adults (those beyond the college level) as it violates age related developmental needs and expectations. In addition, participation is such activities seem to be a stronger factor in the well being of male adolescents in comparison to female counterparts (Maton, 1990). This finding is thought to stem from male self-definition having a greater reliance on instrumental activity, while female definitions of self emphasize the relationship domain more, in general. Maton (1990) also notes that in his sample high leisure involvement was associated with high self-esteem. In the present research there were no significant difference in leisure involvement between resilient (mean - 3) and nonresilient (mean - 2) groups. Resilient and nonresilient

participants alike were involved in a variety of sports, fraternity, community service, preprofessional organizations, campus wide activities and church.

Resilient (22 of 32) subjects did, however, report a greater importance of religion in comparison to nonresilient peers (9 of 22). Overall, both groups demonstrated the ability to structure their leisure time with meaningful activity. Again, these groups did not appear to represent two distinct populations.

This author hypothesized social relationships would differentiate resilient from nonresilient individuals. This hypothesis was not supported by the current research. Many similarities were noted between resilient and nonresilient groups. All subjects but one (nonresilient group) reported having a friendship group. All resilient subjects reported having a best friend. The nonresilient group differed somewhat on this variable in that 8 of 22 participants indicated they had no best friend. Sixty-five percent of the resilient group indicated they had a girlfriend as compared to 41% of nonresilient subjects. However, in the absence of an intimate relationship, both resilient and nonresilient group members reported some combination of dating and opposite sex friends, dating only or opposite sex friends only. For resilient subjects 15.6% dated and had opposite sex friendships, 15.6% dated only and 6.3% had opposite sex friendships only. In the nonresilient group 27.3% dated and had opposite sex friendships, 13.6% dated

only and 4.5% had opposite sex friendships only. These results are in line with developmental trends which suggest that individuals in late adolescence/young adulthood should be deepening in their capacity for opposite sex friendships and intimate relationships. Again narrowness of sample is thought to underlie lack of findings here.

## Resilience, Afrocentrism And Mentor

Afrocentrism and having a mentor were hypothesized to predict resilient status in this sample. These hypotheses were not supported. There were no significant differences in afrocentrism between resilient and nonresilient groups. Both resilient and nonresilient groups manifest positive racial esteem. Further, there was no relationship between self-esteem and feelings of valuation towards one's own racial group in this sample, a finding that has been suggested in the literature (Wright, 1985). As this sample did not differ in level of racial esteem, this variable did not contribute to the overall prediction of resilience. In a broader sample of Black males of college age, greater variation is increasingly likely to be reported on this variable. Further, it is plausible that a diminished sense of racial esteem might bear some relationship to resilient status.

The pressence of a close/confiding relationship (mentor) with a significant adult or with a parent has been previously demonstrated to be associated with resilience (Rutter et al., 1964; Rutter et al., 1975; Garmezy &

Neuchterlein, 1972). Neither presence of a mentor nor closeness to either parent was found to be predictive of resilient status. However, resilient subjects did differ from nonresilient peers with regard to age when relationship with mentor began. One nonresilient subject reported this relationship to have commenced "at birth", the rest of the nonresilient group indicated such relationships had begun in late adolescence to early adulthood with a range of 16 years to 23 years. In contrast, more resilient subjects reported that their relationship with a mentor figure had begun in the elementary and middle childhood years with a range from birth through 23 years. This trend is in the hypothesized direction though not significant. Again it is quite likely that narrow sample size, characterized most likely by two samples from the same population on this variable contributes to this lack of finding.

## Limitations

The limitations of the present body of work are confined to two areas. First the narrowness of the sample size and sample selection procedure limit the generalizability of these results. The current sample represents a limited section of Black college males in the following ways. Males in this sample ranged in age from 19 to 28 years with a mean age of 21.8 years. All participants were junior and senior level students. As such, there was no representation of subjects in the early college years.

In this way, students who may have entered college but may not graduate are not represented. Further, all subjects in this sample attended a small, private, southern, Black, all male college. This excludes Black males in attendance at predominantly Black public universities, predominantly White public universities and predominantly White private colleges. In addition, Black males who manifest resilience but do not attend college are not represented in this sample. Another area of limitation regards socioeconomic status. All participants in this study reported parental occupations in the upper third of the occupational rating scale reflective of middle and upper income status. As such, there was little socioeconomic variation. In this light, the current findings are limited to middle and upper income, males at a small, private, southern, all male, historically Black college.

Another area which limits the generalizations which can be made from current findings encompasses weaknesses regarding instrument choice. The measures used for data collection represent a combination of standardized measures and questions developed to gather descriptive information. Eleven variable were included in this study. Five of the 11 variables were measured in terms of previously existing scales (self-esteem, efficacy, racial esteem, attributional style, assumptive world). The remaining 6 variables did not represent scales of measurement. As such, they do not readily lend themselves to statistical analysis; and

instead serve to provide desciptive information which can guide future research.

While many of the variable did not prove significant in the current study, this author maintains that the model is useful. Esteem and efficacy were found to differentiate resilient from nonresilient subjects is a statistically meaningful way, grade point average, number of leisure activities and relationship patterns did not. This author contends that the criteria "work well", "play well" and "love well" are appropriate but in future need to be operationalized in a more statistically meaningful manner across all variables. For example, the Extracurricular Involvement Inventory (Winston & Massaro, 1987) provides as measure of intensity of involvement in formal extracurricular activities.

#### Future Directions

Replication of the current findings in terms of the importance of self-esteem and efficacy in distinguishing resilient from less hardy peers is called for. Similarly, it is important to replicate the predictive power of attributional style and family variables in designating resilient status. A larger, random sample which would include Black males at a variety of institutions of higher learning, those who are employed and have not attended college and those who are unemployed would be requisite to extend generalizations to the larger population of Black males in late adolescence and early adulthood.

Additionally, some adjustment must be made in the current operationalization of the definitions of "work well", "play well" and "love well." Specifically, greater attention must be given to define criteria with regards to developmental norms and ethnic or cultural appropriateness. For example, among Black youth social functioning might also take into account some measure of relations with extended family as a distinguishing factor of resilient status.

Predicated on the replication and extension of the current findings, the potential for future intervention exists. Such interventions might emphasis self-esteem enhancement, development of an increased sense of efficacy, cognitive stategies targeting development of certain attributional features and parenting skills.

### Conclusions

The purpose of the current research was to identify criteria by which to distinguish resilient from nonresilient peers in a group of Black college males; and further to identify variables which would predict resilient status. The criterion variables "work well, play well, love well and expect well" were operationalized in terms of grade point average, number of leisure activities, presence of a friendship group/best friend and girlfriend or dating or opposite sex friends, and measures of self-esteem and personal efficacy. Self-esteem and efficacy were found to differentiate resilient from nonresilient subjects in this

sample. Hypotheses regarding grade point average, leisure activities and peer relations were not supported.

Participants in both groups were very homogenous on these variables. I would suggest that in a large random sample these same variables would in fact differentiate resilient from nonresilient subjects. Because the current sample represents a selective and resilient group on the whole differences noted in essence separate the most hardy from the less hardy versus a more pure separation characterized by extremes on the resilient - nonresilient continuum.

On the next level, Afrocentrism, mentor, attributional style and family environ were hypothesized to predict resilient status. The current study supports the importance of some features of attributional style (good event: stability, good event:composit rating) and family environ as predicting resilient status. In the current sample, good events: composite rating, closeness to family, doing activities as a family, rules clear in the family and divorce (an inverse predictor) were predictive of resilient status. Afrocentrism and having a close/confiding relationship with a significant adult (not including a parent) were not predictive of resilient status. Some lack of findings within the current study is undoubtedly due to the homogeniety of the current sample. While some differences were noted in terms of resilient/nonresilient status, the sample as a whole are represented among resilient, young, Black males in American society.

Characteristics of resilient Black college males can be identified. The current work found high self-esteem and personal efficacy to be descriptive of resilient participants. Academic performance/history, social relationships in the peer domain and leisure activities perhaps did not differentiate resilient from nonresilient peers because both groups demonstrated competent functioning in these domains. For the most part nonresilient subjects demonstrated resilience in several criterion domains while failing to meet or exceed the cutoffs in all four criterion domains simultaneously. Lastly, we were able to predict resilient status with increasing accuracy with the inclusion of the following variables: closeness to family, family activities, were rules clear and divorce (inverse predictor). These findings lend support to the usefulness of a developmental model for exploring the concept of resilience in Black college males in future studies. Without doubt the ability to identify characteristics of resilient Black males will help us to nurture these qualities in those less hardy. Here perhaps begins a point of inclusion for those so often discouraged and excluded.

#### APPENDIX A

#### **MEASURES**

Consent Form: College Student Survey

This is a study involving college students. It entails answering 229 questions including: background information, academic history, peer relations, leisure activities, family background and experiences you have had as a black person.

How you respond to the questions will not be associated with your name, thus your answers will not be given to anyone other than this author or effect your status at the University in anyway. Data will be held in strictest confidence. Your name is requested on this form to verify your participation. At no time will your name be connected to your answers. A group aggregate analysis will be used to report the results.

Your participation in this research project is voluntary. As such you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time. Please feel free to ask any questions you may have.

I have read the above information and agree to participate in this study.

Participant's	Signiture
Date	

- 1. Gender: Female Male
- 2. Age:
- Indicate the highest level of education completed by your father:

elementary school junior high school high school

college: 1 yr. 2 yrs. 3 yrs. 4. yrs.

graduate school

4. Indicate the highest level of education completed by your mother:

elementary school junior high school high school

college: 1 yrs. 2 yrs. 3 yrs. 4 yrs.

graduate school

- 5. Father's usual occupation, choose 1 category A-G and check the most appropriate job title:
  - A) Professional

Lawyer, Doctor, Engineer, Judge High School Teacher, Minister, Newspaper Editor Social Worker, Grade School Teacher, Librarian

B) Proprietors and Managers

Businesses valued at \$75,000 and over
Businesses valued between \$20,000 - \$75,000
Businesses valued between \$ 5,000 - \$20,000
Businesses valued between \$ 2,000 - \$ 5,000
Businesses valued between \$ 500 - \$ 2,000
Businesses valued at less than \$500

C) Business Men Regional and Divisional managers Assistant managers Minor business officials

D) Clerks

Certified Public Accountants
Accountant, Salesman of real
estate, Insurance
Auto salesman, Bank and Postal

Auto salesman, Bank and Postal clerks, Executive secretaries Stenographer, Bookkeeper, Ticket Agent

Hardware salesman, Telephone and Beauty operators

- E) Manual Workers
  Contractors
  Factory foremen, Electrician,
  Plumber, Carpenter
  Molders, Skilled workers,
  Carpenters assistant
  Heavy labor, Migrant work, Miner
- F) Protective and Service Workers
  Dry cleaners, Butchers, Railroad
  conductor
  Barbers, Firemen, Practical nurses
  Baggage men, Policemen, Taxi/Truck
  drivers
  Janitors, Scrubmen, Newspaper
  delivery
- G) Farmers
  Gentlemen farmers
  Large tenet farmers
  Tenet farmers
  Small tenet farmers
  Migrant farm laborers
  H) Unemployed
- 6. Mother's usual occupation, choose 1 category A-G and check the most appropriate job title:
  - A) Professional
    Lawyer, Doctor, Engineer, Judge
    High School Teacher, Minister,
    Newspaper Editor
    Social Worker, Grade School
    Teacher, Librarian
  - B) Proprietors and Managers
    Businesses valued at \$75,000 and over
    Businesses valued between \$20,000 \$75,000
    Businesses valued between \$ 5,000 \$20,000
    Businesses valued between \$ 2,000 \$ 5,000
    Businesses valued between \$ 500 \$ 2,000
    Businesses valued at less than 500
    - C) Business Women Regional and Divisional managers Assistant managers Minor business officials
  - D) Clerks
    Certified Public Accountants
    Accountant, Saleswoman of real
    estate, Insurance
    Auto saleswoman, Bank and Postal
    clerks, Executive secretaries
    Stenographer, Bookkeeper, Ticket
    Agent
    Hardware saleswoman, Telephone and
    Beauty operators

E) Manual Workers
Contractors
Factory foremen, Electrician,
Plumber, Carpenter
Molders, Skilled workers,
Carpenters assistant
Heavy labor, Migrant work, Miner

Protective and Service Workers
Dry cleaners, Butchers, Railroad
conductor
Barbers, Firemen, Practical nurses
Baggage women, Policewomen,
Taxi/Truck drivers
Janitors, Scrubwomen, Newspaper
delivery

G) Farmers
Gentlemen farmers
Large tenet farmers
Tenet farmers
Small tenet farmers
Migrant farm laborers

H) Unemployed

Please use the scale that follows in responding to the statements below. Please answer honestly; I am interested in your true beliefs.

0 = disagree completely
1 = disagree on the whole
2 = disagree somewhat
3 = disagree slightly
4 = agree slightly
5 = agree somewhat
6 = agree on the whole

To what extent do you disagree/agree with each of the following statements?

7 = agree completely

- 7. The world is a good place.
- 8. People are basically kind and helpful.
- 9. In general, life is mostly a gamble.
- 10. Through our actions we can prevent bad things from happening to us.
- 11. By and large, good people get what they deserve in this world.
- 12. I am basically a lucky person.

- 0 = disagree completely
- 1 = disagree on the whole
- 2 = disagree somewhat
- 3 = disagree slightly
- 4 = agree slightly
- 5 = agree somewhat
- 6 = agree on the whole
- 7 = agree completely
- 13. I always behave in ways that are likely to maximize good results for me.
- 14. I have reason to be ashamed of my personal character.
- 15. There is more good than evil in the world.
- 16. Human nature is basically good.
- 17. Bad events are distributed to people at random.
- 18. People's misfortune results from mistakes they have made.
- 19. People will experience good fortune if they themselves are good.
- 20. Looking at my life, I realize that chance events have worked out well for me.
- 21. I take the actions necessary to protect myself against misfortune.
- 22. I have a low opinion of myself.
- 23. The good things that happen in this world far outnumber the bad.
- 24. People don't really care what happens to the next person.
- 25. The course of our lives is largely determined by chance.
- 26. When bad things happen, it is typically because people have not taken the necessary actions to protect themselves.
- 27. Misfortune is least likely to strike worthy, decent people.
- 28. I am luckier than most people.

- 0 = disagree completely
- 1 = disagree on the whole
- 2 = disagree somewhat
  3 = disagree slightly
- 4 = agree slightly
- 5 = agree somewhat
- 6 = agree on the whole
- 7 = agree completely
- 29. I almost always make an effort to prevent bad things from happening to me.
- 30. I often think I am no good at all.
- 31. If you look closely enough, you will see that the world is full of goodness.
- 32. People are naturally unfriendly and unkind.
- 33. Life is full of uncertainties that are determined by chance.
- 34. If people took preventative actions, most misfortune could by avoided.
- 35. Generally, people deserve what they get in this world
- 36. When I think about it, I consider myself very lucky.
- 37. I usually behave so as to bring about the greatest good for me.
- 38. I am very satisfied with the kind of person I am.
- 39. Year in college: Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior
- 40. Current college major:
- 41. Are you enrolled as a full time student?: Yes No
- 42. Did you ever repeat a grade?: Yes No If yes, please specify
- 43. What type of high school did you attend?:
  Public Private
  Boarding Parochial
- 44. What was your high school GPA (grade point average)?:

- 45. How many hours a week did you spend doing homework in high school?:
- 46. How many days of the week did you study during high school?:
- 47. What is your current GPA (grade point average)?:
- 48. How many hours per week do you spend doing homework?:
- 49. How many days of the week do you study?:
- 50. Have you ever received any awards for academic performance/achievement?:

  Yes No if yes, please specify
- 51. Have you ever been suspended or expelled from school?:
  Yes No if yes, please specify
- 52. Have you ever been placed on academic probation?:

  Yes No
  if yes, please specify
- 53. Have you ever made the Dean's List?: Yes No if yes, please specify
- 54. Have you ever taken an incomplete(s) while in college?:

  Yes No if yes, please specify
- 55. Are you the first generation in your family to attend college?:
  Yes No if yes, please specify
- 56. If you answered No to question 55, How many generations in your family have attended college (please specify the earliest generation)?:

Parents
Grandparents
Great grandparents
Great great grandparents

Think about your "free time", time when your don't have committments for academic work, vocational work or family

responsibilities. Questions 57 through 65 concern how you spend your "free time."

- Are you involved in any clubs, groups or teams? 57.
  - a. yes
  - b. no
- Please list the activities you are involved in, 58. including participation in any clubs, groups or teams. [These activities may include playing a musical instrument, artistic crafts, collecting stamps, fixing cars, fishing - any activities you participate in during free time. These activities may involve other people or be things you do by yourself] List each activity separately and then use the scale provided below to indicate your level of involement in each.
  - a. several times weekly
  - once weekly
  - b. once everyother week
  - d. monthly
  - e. less than monthly

Activity

Involvement

- 59. How long have you been involved in each of the different activities you have listed? Please use the following scale:
  - less than one month a.
  - 1 6 months b.
  - 1 3 years c.
  - 3 5 years d.
  - 5 10 years e.
  - f. more than 10 years

Activity

Involvement

- 60. How much do you enjoy participating in the activities you are involved in? Please use the following scale:
  - a. consistently enjoy
  - b. mostly enjoy
  - c. enjoy an average amount
  - d. somewhat enjoye. rarely enjoy

### Activity

Involvement

61. Do you attend church?

Yes No

- 62. What religion do you belong to?
  - a. Catholic
  - b. Protestant
  - c. Jewish
  - d. Muslim
  - e. Other, please specify
- 63. How often do you attend religious services or other church related activities?
  - a. several times weekly
  - b. once a week
  - c. monthly
  - d. less than monthly
  - e. holidays only
- 64. How long have you attended church?
  - a. less than once a month
  - b. 1 6 months
  - c. 1 3 years
  - d. 3 5 years
  - e. 5 10 years
  - f. more than 10 years
- 65. How important is your religious involvement to you?
  - a. very important
  - b. somewhat important
  - c. average importance
  - d. somewhat unimportant
  - e. very unimportant

Questions 66 through 94 concern friendship.

- 66. How important are friendships to you?

  a. very important
  - b. somewhat important
  - c. somewhat unimportant
  - d. very unimportant
- 67. What are some of the important qualities you think a friend should have? (check all that apply)
  - a. honest
  - b. trustworthy
  - c. good listener
  - d. common interests
  - e. sense of humor
  - f. respectful
  - g. other, please specify
- Are there other people your age whom you especially like to spend time with and talk to"
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 69. How many friends would you say you have altogether?
  - a. 1 5
  - b. 6 10
  - c. 11 15
  - d. 16 20
  - e. more than 20'
- 70. How many of those would you consider as <u>close</u> friends?
  - a. 0 2
  - b. 3 5
  - c. 6 8
  - d. 9 11
  - e. more than 11
- 71. Do you have a best friend? Someone you like to be with and talk to more than anybody else, and who feels the same way about you?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 72. How long have you been best friends with this person?
  - a. less than one month
  - b. 6 months 1 year
  - c. 1 3 years
  - d. 3 5 years
  - e. 5 10 years
  - q. more than 10 years

- How often do you usually see or talk to your best 73. friend? a. once/year maximum few times/year b. c. once/month d. few times/month e. once/week few times/week f. q. daily 74. What kinds of things do you do with your best friend? (Circle all that apply) talking together a. going out b. c. recreation/sports activities d. alcohol/drug use other, please specify e. Is your best friend someone you can share your 75. private feelings and concerns with? Someone you can talk to about things you don't talk to most people about? Yes a. b. No If yes, what kinds of things can you talk to your 76. best friend about? List 2 or 3 things. 77. Is your best friend someone you can go to for advice? a. Yes b. No 78. What might you go to your best friend for advice about? List 2 or 3 things.
- 79. How about the reverse: Is your best friend someone who shares his/her feelings and concerns with you? Someone who talks to you about things he/she doesn't talk to most people about?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No

- Is your best friend someone who comes to you for 80. advice? a. Yes b. No Is yes, what might your best friend come to you for 81. for advice about? List 2 or 3 things. 82. Do you go out with groups of friends? a. Yes b. No When you want to go out with a group of friends what 83. do you usually do? (check all that apply) go to the movies a. b. musical concerts c. exhibition, cultural festival, dance concert)
  - cultural activities, (museum, art participation in sports activities d. e. watch sports activities f. shopping restaraunt q.
    - h. get together and talk outdoor recreation, (camping, i. hiking, ock climbing, canoeing)
    - j. go to parties k. use alcohol/drugs
  - 84. How do you usually decide what to do? single person (not you) a. makes decision b. you make the decision
    - c. group consensus
  - 85. Do you usually have lots of input? a. Yes b. No
- 86. How much input do you usually have? a. a lot b. some

little C.

What do you do if the group wants to do one thing and 87. you want to do another?

> go along with group a. b. try to convince others to

do what you want

just do what you want C.

How likely are you to just go along with something your friend or friends suggest just so you won't make them mad or upset?
a. very likely

b. somewhat likely

c. average

d. somewhat unlikely

e. very unlikely

89. Do you like to spend time alone?

a. Yes

b. No

90. How much time do you spend alone?

a. a lot

b. pretty much

c. some

d. not very much

e. none

91. What kinds of things do you do when you are alone? (Circle all that apply)

a. read

b. write

c. watch TV

d. listen to music

e. use alcohol/drugs

f. go for walks

g. go to the movies

h. go out to eat

92. Overall, are you satisfied with your friendships?

a. Yes

b. No

93. If you could change anything about your friendships, would you?

Yes No If yes, what?

94. If yes, what would you change? List 2 or 3 things.

Questions 95 through 110 concern dating relationships.

95. What do you expect in a serious relationship with a Man/Woman? (circle all that apply)

a. trust

b. honesty

c. mutual respect

- d. emotional support
- e. sense of humor
- f. monogamy
- g. good looks
- h. likes to go out and do things
- i. has good values
- j. has a good job
- k. someone who is
  - comfortable with themselves
- 1. well educated
- 96. At the present time, do you have a special girlfriend /boyfriend?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 97. What do you see as your responsibilities in this relationship? (circle all that apply)
  - a. honesty
  - b. fidelity
  - c. understanding
  - d. compassion
  - e. make sure he/she feels at ease
  - f. treating others as I want to be treated
  - g. being comfortable with self first
  - h. caring
  - i. to communicate
  - j. to listen
  - k. have money to go out
- 98. What do you see as your boyfriend/girlfriends responsibilities? (circle all that apply)
  - a. honesty
  - b. fidelity
  - c. understanding
  - d. compassion
  - e. make sure I feel at ease
  - f. treating me as he/she wants to be treated
  - q. being comfortable with self first
  - h. caring
  - i. to communicate
  - j. to listen
  - k. have money to go out
- 99. How long have you been dating this person?
  - a. less than 1 month
  - b. 1 6 months
  - c. 1 3 years
  - d. 3 5 years
  - e. 5 10 years

100. Do you share very many things in common?

b. No

- 101. What things do you share in common? List 2 or 3 things.
- 102. What do you like most about your boyfriend or girlfriend? List 2 or 3 things.
- 103. Is your boyfriend or girlfriend someone you can share your private feelings and concerns with? Someone you can talk to about things you don't talk to most people about?

a. Yes

b. No

- 104. If yes, what kinds of things can you talk to her/him about? List 2 or 3 things.
- 105. Is your boyfriend/girlfriend someone you can go to for advice?

a. Yes

b. No

- 106. If yes, what might you go to your girlfriend/boyfriend for advice about? List 2 or 3 things.
- 107. How about the reverse: Is your boyfriend/girlfriend someone who shares his/her feelings and concerns with you? Someone who talks to you about things he/she doesn't talk to most people about?

a. Yes

b. No

108. If yes, what kinds of things can your girlfriend/boyfriend talk to you about? List 2 or 3 things.

a. Yes

b. No

109. Is your boyfriend/girlfriend someone who might come to you for advice?

a. Yes

b. No

110. If yes, what might your girlfriend/boyfriend come to you for advice about? List 2 or 3 things.

Questions 111 through 114 concern dating if not in a serious relationship.

111. Do you go out on dates?

a. Yes

b. No

112. What is your typical pattern of dating?

a. group

b. alone

Do you date several guys/girls at once or usually date one person exclusively?

a. several

b. one

114. If several, have you ever dated one person exclusively?

a. Yes

b. No

If not dating.

Do you have friends that are males/females (opposite sex friends)?

a. Yes

b. No

116. How much time do you spend with opposite sex friend(s)?

a. several times weekly

b. once a week

c. once every other week

d. monthly

e. less than monthly

Do you share your worries or problems with him/her/them?

a. Yes

b. No

Does she/he/they share her/his/their worries or problems with you?

a. Yes

b. No

- Do you talk to opposite sex friend(s) about things 119. you don't talk to most people about?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 120. Does your opposite sex friend(s) talk to you about things he/she/they don't talk to most people about?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 121. Overall, are you satisfied with your opposite sex friendships?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- If no, what about your opposite sex friendships are 122. you not satisfied with? List 2 or 3 things.

Use the scale provided below to answer questions 123 through 128.

- 1 = almost always true
- 2 = often true
- 3 = not often true
- 4 = never true
- I am a useful person to have around. 123.
- 124. I feel that I am a person of worth.
- I feel that I can't do anything right. 125.
- 126. I feel that my life is not very useful.
- I feel that I do not have much to be proud of. 127.
- 128. As a person I do a good job these days.

Think about the last time you felt you had failed at something.

- 129. What did you feel you had failed at?
- 130. How long was it until you felt good about yourself again?

- 131. Can you identify any factors that helped you to feel good about yourself again?
- Do you think it's better to plan your life a good ways ahead, or would you say life is too much a matter of luck to plan ahead very far?

1 = plan ahead

2 = too much luck to plan

When you do make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry out things the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans?

1 = carry out way expected

2 = have to change plans

134. Have you usually felt <u>pretty sure</u> your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been times when you <u>haven't been sure about it?</u>

1 = pretty sure

2 = haven't been sure

Some people feel they <u>can run their lives</u> pretty much the way they want to, others feel the <u>problems</u> of life are sometimes too big for them. Which one are you most like.

1 = can run own life

2 = problems of life are
 too big

Many different words have been used to describe Black people in general. Some of these words describe good points and some of these words describe bad points. How true do you think each of these words is in describing most Black people? Use the scale below to respond to the following items. (questions 136 - 148)

1 = very true

2 = somewhat true

3 = a little true

4 = not at all true

- 136. How true do you think it is that most Black people keep trying?
- 137. How true do you think it is that most Black people love their families?
- 138. How true do you think it is that most Black people are ashamed of themselves?

- 139. How true do you think it is that most Black people are lazy?
- 140. How true do you think it is that most Black people are lying or trifling?
- 141. How true do you think it is that most Black people are hardworking?
- 142. How true do you think it is that most Black people do for others?
- 143. How true do you think it is that most Black people give up easily?
- 144. How true do you think it is that most Black people are weak?
- 145. How true do you think it is that most Black people are proud of themselves?
- 146. How true do you think it is that most Black people are honest?
- 147. How true do you think it is that most Black people are selfish?
- 148. How true do you think it is that most Black people are strong?
- 149. Is there an adult not related to you, but whom you like to see and talk to? Someone who is special to you? (eg. teacher, neighbor, coach, minister, friend of parents)
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- Do you feel you can talk to this adult about personal matters, about what you think and feel?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 151. How long have you been friends with this person?
  - a. less than one month
  - b. 1 6 months
  - c. 6 months 1 year
  - d. 1 3 years
  - e. 3 5 years
  - f. 5 10 years
  - g. more than 10 years
  - h. lifetime

- 152. How often do you see or talk to this special friend? a. once a year b. few times a year C. once a month d. few times a month e. once a week few times a week f. daily g. How old were you when this relationship began? 153. What kinds of things do you do with this person? 154. a. movies

  - b. musical concerts
  - c. cultural activities
  - participation in sports activities d.
  - e. watching sports
  - f. shopping
  - q. restaraunt
  - h. get together and talk
  - i. outdoor recreation
  - j. hang out/spend time
  - k. use alcohol/drugs
- 155. Is this person someone you can share your feelings and concerns with? Someone you can talk to about things you don't talk to most people about?
  - a. Yes
  - No b.
- If yes, what kinds of things can you talk to this 156. person about? List 2 or 3 things.
- 157. Is this person someone you can go to for advice?
  - Yes a.
  - b. No
- 158. If yes, what might you go to this person for advice about? List 2 or 3 things.
- How about the reverse: Is this person someone who 159. shares her/his feelings and concerns with you? Someone who talks to you about things she/he doesn't talk to most people about?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No

- 160. If yes, what kinds of things can this person talk to you about? List 2 or 3 things.
- 161. Is this person someone who comes to you for advice?

a. Yes

162. If yes, what might this person come to you for advice about. List 2 or 3 things.

No

163. How many people are in your family?

b.

- 164. How many people lived in your home while you were growing up?
- 165. Think about your family as a whole. How close would you say you are to your family?

a. very close

b. close

c. fairly close

d. not very close

e. not close at all

Did you do things together as a family while you were growing up?

a. Yes

b. No

- 167. What kinds of things did your family do together? List 2 or 3 things.
- 168. How close would you say you are to your mother?
- 169. Did you spend time alone with your mother?

a. Yes

b. No

170. What kinds of things did you and she do together? (circle all that apply)

a. tv

b. movies

c. cultural activities

d. shopping

e. talking

f. sports participation

g. play games

h. artistic crafts

- i. church/religious activities
- j. community organizations
- k. house/yard maintence
- 1. restaraunts
- m. alcohol/drug use
- 171. Did you feel you got enough time with your mother while you were growing up?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 172. If no, would you have wanted to spend more time with her?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 173. How would you like to spend that time? List 2 or 3 things.
- 174. Do you talk about personal things with your mother?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 175. What kinds of personal things can you talk with about? (Circle all that apply)
  - a. friends (same sex)
  - b. friends (opposite sex)/dating
  - c. sexuality
  - d. alcohol/drug use
  - e. job
  - f. money
  - g. future
  - h. worries/concerns/problems
- 176. Are you happy with this relationship with your mother?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 177. Would you change anything about this relationship if you could?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 178. If yes, what would you change? List 2 or 3 things
- 179. How close would you say you are to your father?

- Did you spend time alone with your father? 180. a. Yes b. No What kinds of things did you and he do together? 181. (circle all that apply) a. tv b. movies c. cultural activities d. shopping e. talking f. sports participation q. play games h. artistic crafts i. church/religious activities j. community organizations k. house/yard maintence 1. restaraunts alcohol/drug use m. Did you feel you got enough time with your father 182. while you were growing up? a. Yes b. No 183. If no, would you have wanted to spend more time with him? a. Yes b. No How would you have wanted to spend that time? List 184. 2 or 3 things. 185. Do you talk about personal things with your father? Yes a. b. No 186. What kinds of personal things can you talk with him about? (Circle all that apply) a. friends (same sex)
  - b. friends (opposite sex)/dating
  - c. sexuality
  - d. alcohol/drug use
  - e. job
  - f. money
  - g. future
  - h. worries/concerns/problems

- Are you happy with this relationship with your 187. father? a. Yes b. No 188. Would you change anything about this relationship if you could? a. Yes b. No If yes, what would you change? List 2 or 3 things 189. 190. How close would you say you are to your siblings? 191. What kinds of things did you and your siblings do together? (circle all that apply) a. tv b. movies cultural activities c. d. shopping e. talking f. sports participation play games q. artistic crafts h. i. church/religious activities j. community organizations k. house/yard maintence 1. restaraunts alcohol/drug use m. 192. Do you talk about personal things with your siblings? a. Yes b. No 193. What kinds of personal things can you talk with them about? (Circle all that apply) friends (same sex) a. friends (opposite sex)/dating b. sexuality c. alcohol/drug use d.
- 194. Are you happy with the relationships you have with your siblings?

worries/concerns/problems

job

money future

a. Yes

e. f.

g. h.

b. No

- Would you change anything about these relationships 195. if you could? a. Yes b. No If yes, what would you change? List 2 or 3 things 196. How were decisions made in your family while you 197. were growing up? a. parents made decisions b. I had some input I made my own decisions c. How much input would you say you had on decisions 198. that affected you directly? a. much b. average/some little or none C. 199. Were there rules in your home while you were growing up? a. Yes b. No 200. How were the rules usually made? (circle one) mother made a. b. father made parents made together c. d. consensus of family members each family member made their e. own rules 201. Were the rules clear? a. Yes b. No 202. Do you think you had too many rules, or maybe not enough rules? a. too many rules right amount of rules b.
  - c. too few rules
- Did your parents divorce while you were growing up? 203.
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- Did either of your parents remarry while you were 204. growing up?
  - Yes, both a.
- c. Yes, father
- Yes, mother b.
- d. No

205. Did you live in a home with a step-parent at any point while you were growing up?

a. Yes

- 206. If yes, how close did you feel to your step-parent?
- 207. Did you feel your mother was critical of you while you were growing up?

a. frequently

b. occasionally

c. rarely

- 208. Did you feel your father was critical of you while you were growing up?
  - a. frequently
  - b. occasionally
  - c. rarely
- Did your parents argue with eachother while you were growing up?
  - a. frequently
  - b. occasionally
  - c. rarely
- 210. Did your parents argue with you while you were growing up?
  - a. frequently
  - b. occasionally
  - c. rarely
- 211. Did your parents argue with your siblings while you were growing up?
  - a. frequently
  - b. occasionally
  - c. rarely
- 212. Did you argue with your siblings while you were growing up?
  - a. frequently
  - b. occasionally
  - c. rarely

Please try vividly imagining yourself in the situations that follow. If such a situation happened to you, what would you feel would have caused it? While events may have many causes, I want you to pick only one - the major cause if this happened to you. Please write this cause in the blank provided after each event. Next I want you to answer some questions about the cause and a final question about the situation. There are no right or wrong answers. To summarize, I want you to:

- Read each situation and vividly imagine it happening to you.
- 2) Decide what you feel would be the major cause of the situation if it happened to you.
- 3) Write one cause in the blank provided.
- 4) Answer three questions about the cause.
- 5) Go on to the next situation.
- 213. YOU MEET A FRIEND WHO COMPLIMENTS YOU ON YOUR APPEARANCE.

Write down one major cause

Is the cause of your friend's compliment due to something about you or something about the other person or circumstances? (Circle one number)

Totally due to the other person or

person or Totally due circumstances 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 to me

In the future when you are with your friends, will this cause again be present? (Circle one number)

Will never again be will always be present 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 present

Is the cause something that just affects interacting with friends or does it also influence other areas of your life? (Circle one number)

Influences Influences all just this situations particular in my life situation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

How important would this situation be if it you? (Circle one number)

Not at all Extremely important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 importanty

214. YOU HAVE BEEN LOOKING FOR A JOB UNSUCCESSFULLY FOR SOME TIME.

Write down one major cause.

Is the cause of your unsuccessful job search due to something about you or something about the other person or circumstances? (Circle one number)

Totally due to the other person or circumstances 1

Totally due 6 7 to me

In the future when looking for a job, will this cause again be present? (Circle one number)

3

2

Will never again be present

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 present

5

5

Is the cause something that just influences looking for a job or does it also influence other areas of your life? (Circle one number)

Influences just this particular situation

Influences all situations in my life

Extremely

important

How important would this situation be if it happened to you? (Circle one number)

3

Not at all important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2

1

215. IF YOU BECOME VERY RICH.

Write down one major cause.

Is the cause of becoming rich due to something about you or something about the other person or circumstances? (Circle one number)

Totally due to the other person or

person or Totally circumstances 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 to me

In your financial future, will this cause again be present? (Circle one number)

Will never again be Will be present 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 present Is the cause something that just affects obtaining money or does it also influence other areas of your life? (Circle one number) Influences Influences all just this situations particular in my life situation 1 2 3 5 6 7 How important would this situation be if it happened to you? (Circle one number) Not at all Extremely important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 important A FRIEND COMES TO YOU WITH A PROBLEM AND YOU DON'T TRY TO HELP THEM. Write down one major cause. Is the cause of your not helping your friend due to something about you or something about the other person or circumstances? (Circle one number) Totally due to the other person or Totally circumstances 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 to me In the future when a friend comes to you with a problem, will this cause again be present? (Circle one number) Will never again be Will be present 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 present Is the cause something that just affects what happens when a friend comes to you with a problem or does it also influence other areas of your life?

216.

(Circle one number)

Influences Influences all just this situations particular in my life situation 1 2 3 4 5 6

How important would this situation be if it happened to you? (Circle one number)

Not at all important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 important

217. YOU GIVE AN IMPORTANT TALK IN FRONT OF A GROUP AND THE AUDIENCE REACTS NEGATIVELY.

Write down one major cause.

Is the cause of the audience reacting negatively due to something about you or something about the other person or circumstances? (Circle one number)

Totally due to the other person or

person or Totally circumstances 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 to me

In the future when giving talks, will this cause again be present? (Circle one number)

Will never again be present

Will be 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 present

5

Is this cause something that just influences giving talks or does it also influence other areas of your life? (Circle one number)

Influences just this particular situation

Influences all situations in my life 6 7

How important would this situation be if it happened to you? (Circle one number)

3 4

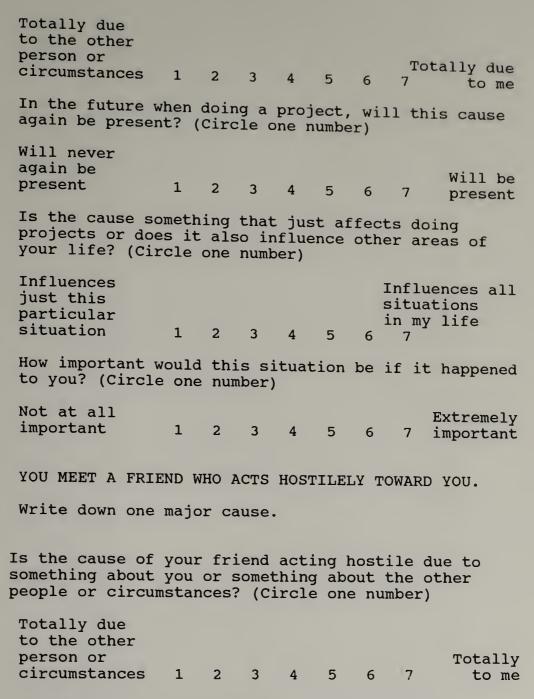
Not at all Extremely important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 important

218. YOU DO A PROJECT WHICH IS HIGHLY PRAISED.

1 2

Write down one major cause.

Is the cause of being praised due to something about you or something about the other person or circumstances? (Circle one number)



219.

In the future when interacting with friends, will this cause again be present? (Circle one number)
Will never

again be Will be present 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 present

Is the cause something that just influences interacting with friends or does it also influence other areas of your life? (Circle one number)

Influences all just this situations particular in my life situation 1 2 3 4 5 How important would this situation be if it happened to you? (Circle one number) Not at all Extremely important 1 2 3 4 5 6 important YOU CAN'T GET ALL THE WORK DONE THAT OTHERS EXPECT 220. OF YOU. Write down one major cause. Is the cause of not getting the work done due to something about you or something about the other person or circumstances? (Circle one number) Totally due to the other person or Totally circumstances 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 to me In the future when doing work that others expect, will this cause again be present? (Circle one number) Will never again be Will be present 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 present Is the cause something that just affects doing work that others expect of you or does it also influence other areas of your life? (Circle one number) Influences Influences all just this situations particular in my life situation 2 1 3 5 6 7 How important would this situation be if it happened to you? (Circle one number) Not at all Extremely 2 important 1 3 4 5 6 7 important 221. YOUR SPOUSE (BOYFRIEND/GIRLFRIEND) HAS BEEN TREATING YOU LOVINGLY.

Write down one major cause.

Influences

Is the cause of your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) treating you more lovingly due to something about you or something about the other person or circumstances? (Circle one number)

Totally due to the other person or Totally circumstances 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 to me

In future interactions with your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) will this cause again be present? (Circle one number)

Will never again be Will be present 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 present

Is the cause something that just affects how your spouse (boyfriend/girlfriend) treats you or does it also influence other areas of your life? (Circle one number)

Influences Influences all just this situations particular in my life situation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

How important would this situation be if it happened to you? (Circle one number)

Not at all Extremely important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 important

222. YOU APPLY FOR A POSITION THAT YOU WANT VERY BADLY (e.g., IMPORTANT JOB, GRADUATE SCHOOL ADMISSION, ect.) AND GET IT.

Write down one major cause.

Is the cause of your getting the position due to something about you or something about the other person or circumstances? (Circle one number)

Totally due to the other person or Totally due circumstances 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 to me

In the future when applying for a position, will this cause again be present? (Circle one number)

Will never again be Will be present 1 2 3 5 7 present Is the cause something that just influences applying for a position or does it also influence other areas of your life? (Circle one number) Influences Influences all just this situations particular in my life situation 1 2 3 5 7 How important would this situation be if it happened to you? (Circle one number) Not at all Extremely important 1 2 3 5 4 6 important

YOU GO OUT ON A DATE AND IT GOES BADLY. 223.

Write down one major cause.

Is the cause of the date going badly due to something about you or something about the other person or circumstances? (Circle one number)

Totally due to the other person or

Totally due circumstances 1 2 3 4 5 6 to me

In the future when dating, will this cause again be present? (Circle one number)

Will never

again be Will be present 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 present

Is the cause something that just influences dating or does it also influence other areas of your life? (Circle one number)

Influences all Influences just this situations particular in my life situation 2 1 3 5 6 7

How important would this situation be if it happened to you? (Circle one number)

Not at all important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 important

224. YOU GET A RAISE.

Write down one major cause.

Is the cause of your getting a raise due to something about you or something about the other person or circumstances? (Circle one number)

Totally due to the other person or

person or Totally due circumstances 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 to me

In the future on your job, will this cause again be present? (Circle one number)

Will never again be present

Will be 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 present

Is this cause something that just affects getting a raise or does it also influence other areas of your life? (Circle one number)

Influences just this particular situation

Influences all situations in my life 6 7

How important would this situation be if it happened to you? (Circle one number)

3

Not at all important 1

Extremely 2 3 4 5 6 7 important

5

225. Can you remember the first time you felt you were treated differently because you were Black?

a. Yes

1

2

226. Briefly describe that experience (ie: what happened to you, how did you feel).

227. How old were you when you first experienced being treated differently because you were Black?

- 228. To what extent do you feel your life has been more difficult because you are Black?
  - a. consistently difficult b. mostly difficult
  - mostly difficult
  - c. somewhat difficult
  - d. slightly difficult
  - e. not at all difficult
- If you feel that being Black has made your life 229. more difficult, list 2 or 3 ways it has been more difficult for you.

### APPENDIX B

#### TABLES

Table 1

Pearson Correlation Between Indices of Attributional Style, Assumptive World, Grade Point Average, Esteem, Efficacy, And Racial Esteem

	GOOD1	GOOD2	GOOD3	 BAD1	BAD2
GOOD1	1.00	.69**	.48**	.07	04
GOOD2	.69**	1.00	.50**	.04	21
GOOD3	.48**	.50**	1.00	.17	.08
BAD1	.07	.04	.17	1.00	.32*
BAD2	04	21	.08	.09	1.00
BAD3	11	22	.40**	.32*	.38**
GOOD	.86**	.85**	.80**	.12	06
BAD	05	19	.32*	.63**	.67**
AWSGOOD	20	18	.02	.17	.21
AWSSENSE	.03	.09	.01	.01	.07
AWSWORTH	.17	.15	.18	32*	.01
GPA	.02	12	.07	06	.02
ESTEEM	.09	.39**	.34*	03	18
EFFICACY	.12	.26	.16	01	.25
RACESTEM	.18	.20	.42**	.19	.09

Table 1 (cont.)

	BAD3	GOOD	D.D.		
		GOOD	BAD	AWS GOOD	AWS SENSE
GOOD1	.11**	.86**	05	20	.03
GOOD2	22	.85**	19	18	.09
GOOD3	.40**	.80	.32*	.02	.01
BAD1	.12	.12	.63**	.17	.01
BAD2	.38**	06	.67**	.21	.07
BAD3	1.00	.05	.84**	.15	.13
GOOD	.05	1.00	.05	14	.05
BAD	.84**	.05	1.00	.24	.10
AWSGOOD	.15	14	.24	1.00	.25
AWSSENSE	.13	.05	.10	.25	1.00
AWSWORTH	14	.20	21	.21	.03
GPA	05	00	05	.05	11
ESTEEM	01	.32	10	01	.17
EFFICACY	.02	.21	.11	.09	05
RACESTEM	10	.36*	.07	.32*	06

Table 1 (cont.)

	AWS				
	WORTH	GPA	ESTEEM	EFFICACY	RACE ESTEEM
GOOD1	.17	.02	.09	.12	.18
GOOD2	.15	12	.39**	.26	.20
GOOD3	.18	.07	.34*	.16	.42**
BAD1	32	06	03	01	.19
BAD2	.01	.02	18	.25	.09
BAD3	14	05	01	.02	10
GOOD	.20	00	.32*	.21	.36*
BAD	21	05	10	.11	.07
AWSGOOD	.21	.05	01	.09	.32*
AWSSENSE	.03	11	.17	05	06
AWSWORTH	1.00	.16	.42**	.25	•00
GPA	.16	1.00	.29*	.30*	.34*
ESTEEM	.42**	.29*	1.00	.57**	.23
EFFICACY	.25	.30*	.57**	1.00	.13
RACESTEM	.00	.34*	.23	.13	1.00

Table 2
Summary of Student's T-Tests

W					
<u>Variable</u>	<u>n</u>	Resilier M	nt SD	+	
Self-Esteem	31	22.42	1.69	<u>t</u> -3.15**	
Personal Efficacy	31	7.52	.51	-4.01***	
GPA	32	2.93	.32	-1.44	
Racial Esteem	31	41.42	4.58	. 24	
Attributional Style					
Good: Int.	29	5.46	.96	-1.90	
Good: Sta.	29	5.96	.77	-2.53*	
Good: Glo.	29	5.45	.97	82	
Bad: Int.	29	4.06	.88	53	
Bad: Sta.	29	4.05	.91	.01	
Bad: Glo.	29	4.10	1.16	.33	
Good: Com.	29	5.62	.78	-2.07*	
Bad: Com.	29	4.07	.68	04	
Assumptive World					
Benevolence of the World	32	27.84	12.23	.97	

Table 2 (cont.)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>n</u>	Resilient M	SD	<u>t</u>
Assuumptive World	(cont.)			
Meaningfulness of the World	32	39.97	8.04	87
Self Worth	32	63.69	8.36	-1.43
Age When First Treated Diff. because				
Black	26	13.35	4.13	-2.71**
Father's Occ.	30	2.23	1.55	.90
Mother's Occ.	28	2.43	.80	1.63
			Continued,	next page
*p < .05 **p	< .01	***p < .001		

Table 2 (cont.)

Word about					
<u>Variable</u>	<u>n</u>	Nonresilier M	nt SD	<u>.</u>	
Self-Esteem	22	_		<u>t</u>	
2000011	22	20.59	2.32	-3.15**	
Personal Efficacy	22	6.41	1.22	-4.01***	
GPA	22	2.79	.38	-1.44	
Racial Esteem	22	41.68	3.40	.24	
Attributional Sty	le				
Good: Int.	21	5.05	.57	-1.90	
Good: Sta.	21	5.48	.58	-2.53*	
Good: Glo.	21	5.25	.73	82	
Bad: Int.	21	3.92	.93	53	
Bad: Sta.	21	4.05	.94	.01	
Bad: Glo.	21	4.21	1.18	.33	
Good: Com.	21	5.26	.45	-2.07*	
Bad: Com.	21	4.06	.77	04	
Assumptive World					
Benevolence of the World	21	30.67	8.94	.97	

Table 2 (cont.)

<u>Variable</u>		<u>n</u>	Nonresilien M	t SD	 t
Assuumpti	ve World	(cont.)			_
Meaningf of the W	ulness orld	21	37.57	10.89	87
Self Wort	h	21	59.90	10.04	-1.43
Age When	First Tre	ated			
Diff. be Black	cause	16	9.81	4.09	-2.71**
Father's	Occ.	22	2.68	1.94	.90
Mother's	Occ.	20	3.10	1.71	1.63
*p < .05	**p <	.01	***p < .001		

GPA = grade point average

Attributional Style

Int. = internality

Sta. = stability

Glo. = globality

Com. = composit rating

Occ. = occupation

Table 3

Cronbach's Alpha For Assumptive World, Attributional Style, Self-Esteem, Personal Efficacy And Racial Esteem

	Alpha
Assumptive World	
Benevolence of the World	.87
Meaningfulness of the World	•87
Self Worth	.66
Scale composite	
	.77
Attributional Style Questionnaire	
Good event: internality	
Good event: stability	.69 .73
Good event: globality	.65
Good event: composite rating	
	.85
Bad event: internality	.40
Bad event: stability	.69
Bad event: globality	72
•	.73
Bad event: composite rating	.74
Self-Esteem	.59
Personal Efficacy	
eroonar hiridacy	.51
Racial Esteem	.65

Table 4
Chi-Square For Mentor

Resilient .		Mentor Yes   No	
No No	15	7	- Row Total 22 41.5
Yes	26	5	- 31 58.5
Column	41 77.4	12 22.6	53 100

<u>Chi-square</u>	<u>Value</u>	DF	Sign.
Pearson	1.8084	1	.1787
Continuity Correction	1.0236	1	.3117
Likelihood Ratio	1.7868	1	.1813
Mantel-Hazel test for linear association	1.7743	1	.1828
Fisher's Exact test: One-tailed Two-tailed			.1559

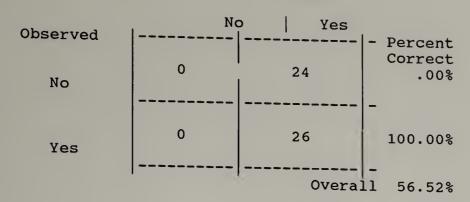
N=53; 1 missing case

Table 5

Logistic Regression Without Predictor Variables

	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>df</u>	Sign.
-2 Log Likelihood	62.985	45	.0394
Goodness of Fit	46.000	45	. 4306

# Predicted



Logistic Regression For Good Event Composite Rating

Table 6

	Chi-Square	<u>df</u>	Sign.
-2 Log Likelihood	50.122	44	.2435
Model Chi-Square	12.863	1	.0003
Improvement	12.863	1	.0003
Goodness of Fit	41.956	44	.5596

## Predicted

Observed	No	Yes	- Percent
No	13	7	Correct 65.00%
Yes	8	18	69.23
		Overal	-   67.39%

Table 7

Logistic Regression For Close To Family

	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>df</u>	Sign.
-2 Log Likelihood	44.140	43	.4232
Model Chi-Square	18.844	2	.0001
Improvement	5.981	1	.0145
Goodness of Fit	39.714	43	.6146

## Predicted

Observed	No 	Yes	- Percent
No	15	5	Correct 75.00%
Yes	5	21	80.77%
		Overa	-  1 78.26%

Table 8

Logistic Regression For Were Rules Clear

	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>df</u>	Sign.
-2 Log Likelihood	39.443	42	.5838
Model Chi-Square	23.542	3	.0000
Improvement	4.698	1	.0302
Goodness of Fit	39.751	42	.5702

## Predicted

Observed	No.		Yes	D
No	17	3		Percent Correct 85.00%
Yes	5	21		80.77%
			- Overall	82.61%

Table 9

Logistic Regression For Parents Divorced

	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>df</u>	Sign.
-2 Log Likelihood	35.642	41	.7071
Model Chi-Square	27.342	4	.0000
Improvement	3.800	1	.0512
Goodness of Fit	31.745	41	.8499

## Predicted

Observed	No.	) 	Yes	- Percent
No	15	5		Correct 75.00%
Yes	4	22		84.62%
			Overal:	- l 80.43%

Logistic Regression For Do Things With Family

	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>df</u>	Sign.
-2 Log Likelihood	31.644	40	.8245
Model Chi-Square	31.340	5	.0000
Improvement	3.998	1	.0456
Goodness of Fit	30.221	40	.8690

## Predicted

Observed	No	P	Yes	
observed			- Percent	
No	17	3		85.00%
				-
Yes	4	22		84.62%
			Overa	1- 11 84.78%

Table 11
Percentages For Dichotomous Family Variables

	Resilient	Nonresilient
Do things with family	96.8	81.8
Spend time alone with mother	93.5	77.3
Spend time alone with father	71.0	63.6
Enough time with mother	74.2	68.2
Enough time with father	38.7	36.4
Wanted more time with mother	25.8	27.3
Wanted more time with father	54.8	54.5
Talk with mother about personal things	80.6	72.7
Talk with father about personal things	67.7	54.5
Talk with siblings about personal things	67.7	59.1
Happy with relationship with mother	90.3	90.9
Happy with relationship with father	58.1	68.2
Happy with relationship with siblings	71.0	72.7
Would you change the relationship with mother	29.0	27.3

Continued, next page

Table 11 (cont.)

	Resilient	Nonresilient
Would you change the relationship with father	51.6	31.8
Would you change the relationship with siblings	16.1	27.3
Were there rules	96.8	100.00
Were the rules clear	90.3	81.8
Parents divorced	29.0	40.9
Lived with step-parent	9.7	27.3
Remember first experience of Blackness	74.2	68.2

Total N = 53; resilient N = 31, 1 missing case; nonresilient N = 22

Table 12

Percentages For Family Activities

Sports	Resilient 10.0	Nonresilient 5.6
Meals	40.0	55.6
Vacation/Travel	63.3	38.9
TV/Movies	33.3	22.2
Games	10.0	0.0
Shopping/Mall	6.7	0.0
Nightclubs/Partying	3.3	0.0
Church	30.0	27.8
Cultural Events	16.7	5.6
Recreation	16.7	22.2
Talk/Discussions	6.7	22.2
Holidays/Reunions	6.7	16.7
Miscellaneous	3.3	5.6

Total N = 38
Resilient N = 30; 2 missing cases
Nonresilient N = 18; 4 missing cases

Table 13

Percentages For Activities With Mother

TV	Resilient 83.3	Nonresilient 65.0
Movies	53.3	45.0
Cultural Activities	50.0	40.0
Shopping	90.0	85.0
Talking	100.0	95.0
Play Sports	16.7	35.0
Play Games	40.0	50.0
Crafts	13.3	30.0
Church	90.0	70.0
Community Organizations	20.0	35.0
House/Yard Work	76.7	90.0
Restaurants	63.3	75.0
Alcohol/Drug Use	0.0	10.0

Total N = 50
Resilient N = 50; 2 missing cases
Nonresilient N = 20; 2 missing cases

Table 14

Percentages For Activities With Father

TV	Resilient 89.3	Nonresilient 70.0
Movies	53.6	50.0
Cultural Activities	35.7	20.0
Shopping	28.6	50.0
Talking	92.9	85.0
Play Sports	64.3	50.0
Play Games	46.4	35.0
Crafts	21.4	10.0
Church	64.3	45.0
Community Organizations	28.6	10.0
House/Yard Work	71.4	55.0
Restaurants	53.6	55.0
Alcohol/Drug Use	7.1	5.0

Total N = 48
Resilient N = 28; 4 missing cases
Nonresilient N = 20; 2 missing cases

Table 15 Percentages For Activities With Siblings

TV	Resilient 91.7	Nonresilient 87.5
Movies	91.7	93.8
Cultural Activities	54.2	43.8
Shopping	75.0	68.8
Talking	95.8	87.5
Play Sports	70.8	62.5
Play Games	87.5	75.0
Crafts	41.7	25.0
Church	87.5	50.0
Community Organizations	45.8	31.3
House/Yard Work	95.8	68.8
Restaurants	75.0	56.3
Alcohol/Drug Use	20.8	31.3

Total N = 40

Resilient N=24; 8 missing cases Nonresilient N=16; 6 missing cases

Table 16

Percentages For Wanted More Time With Parents

		lient	Nonresi	
Talking	Mother 50.0	Father 39.3	Mother 16.7	Father 40.9
Activities	20.0	10.7	16.7	9.1
Sports	0.0	17.9	16.7	16.7
Doing Things Together	10.0	10.7	16.7	4.5
Having Fun	0.0	0.0	16.7	4.5
Going Places	10.0	0.0	0.0	13.6
Receiving Advice	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5
Learn About Father	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.6
She Died	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0
Games	10.0	7.1	0.0	0.0
Church	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0
Growing Up	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0
Help With Homework	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0
All Ways	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0

Resilient N = 6; 26 missing cases - mother N = 17; 15 missing cases - father Nonresilient N = 5; 17 missing cases - mother N = 11; 11 missing cases - father

Table 17

Percentages For Change In Relationship With Parents

	Resilient		Nonresilient	
Communication	Mother 14.3	Father 13.3	Mother 50.0	Father 50.0
Time Together	57.1	40.0	25.0	33.3
Closer Relationship	14.3	20.0	25.0	33.3
Attitude	14.3	13.1	25.0	16.7
Love	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Advice	0.0	13.3	0.0	0.0
Miscellaneous	0.0	33.3	50.0	16.7

Resilient N = 7 mother; 25 missing cases
N = 15 father; 7 missing cases
Nonresilient N = 4 mother; 18 missing cases
N = 6 father; 16 missing cases

Table 18

Percentages For Change In Relationship With Siblings

Resilient 25.0	Nonresilient 16.7
25.0	50.0
50.0	33.3
0.0	16.7
0.0	16.7
0.0	16.7
	25.0 25.0 50.0 0.0

Resilient N = 4; 28 missing cases Nonresilient N = 6; 16 missing cases

Table 19 Percentages For Closeness To Step-Parent

Very Close	Resilient 0.0	Nonresilient 28.6
Close	33.3	57.1
Fairly Close	0.0	0.0
Not Very Close	0.0	14.3
Not Close At All	66.7	0.0

Total N = 10

Resilient N = 3; 29 missing cases Nonresilient N = 7; 15 missing cases

Table 20
Percentages For Closeness To Family

Very Close	Resilient 48.4	Nonresilient 77.3
Close	35.5	9.1
Fairly Close	6.5	9.1
Not Very Close	9.7	4.5
Not Close At All	0.0	0.0

Total N = 53 Resilient N = 31; 1 missing case Nonresilient N = 22

Table 21
Percentages For How Decisions Were Made

Parents Decided	Resilient 33.3	Nonresilient 31.8
Some Input	66.7	59.1
I Decided	0.0	9.1

Total N = 52
Resilient N = 30; 2 missing cases
Nonresilient N = 22

Table 22

Percentages For How Rules Were Made

Mother Made	Resilient 14.3	Nonresilient 9.1
Father Made	3.6	13.6
Parents Made	78.6	63.6
Family Consensus	3.6	13.6

Total N = 50 Resilient N = 28; 4 missing cases Nonresilient N = 22

Percentages For Critical Parents

Frequently	Resil: Mother 19.4	Father 30.0	Nonre Mother 38.1	Father 45.5
Occasionally	51.6	30.0	33.3	22.7
Rarely	29.0	40.0	28.6	31.8

Resilient N = 31 Mother; 1 missing case N = 30 Father; 2 missing cases Nonresilient N = 21 Mother; 1 missing case N = 22 Father

Percentages For Frequency Of Family Arguing

	PAE	RESIL PAY	IENT PAS	YAS	PAS	NONR PAY	ESILIE PAS	NT YAS
Frequently	16.1	9.7	13.0	34.8	19.0	18.2	15.8	33.3
Occasionally		54.8	56.5	56.6	42.9	50.0	47.4	44.4
Rarely	54.8	35.5	30.4	8.7	38.1	31.8	36.8	22.2

Resilient N = 31 Parents argue with eachother; 1 missing case

N = 31 Parents argue with you; 1 missing
 case

N = 23 Parents argue with siblings; 9
 missing cases

N = You argue with siblings;

Nonresilient N = 21 Parents argue with eachother; 1 missing case

N = 22 Parents argue with you

N = 19 Parents argue with siblings; 3
 missing cases

N = 18 You argue with siblings; 4
 missing cases

PAE = Parents argue with eachother

PAY = Parents argue with you

PAS = Parents argue with siblings

YAS = You argue with siblings

Percentages For First Time You Felt You Were Treated Differently Because You Were Black

Unwarrented Suspicion	Resilient 13.3	Nonresilient 7.7
Exclusion/Isolation	30.4	46.2
Teacher Discrimination	21.7	15.4
Denied Advancement	8.7	7.7
Athletic Stereotypes	4.3	15.4
Harrassed By Group Of Whites	0.0	7.7
Verbal Abuse	8.7	0.0
Economic Stereotypes	4.3	0.0
Asked To Dance (good)	4.3	0.0
Miscellaneous	4.3	0.0

Total N = 36
Resilient N = 23; 9 missing cases
Nonresilient N = 13; 9 missing cases

Percentages For Being Black Has Made Life More Difficult

Consistently Difficult	Resilient 10.3	Nonresilient 9.1
Mostly Difficult	24.1	18.2
Somewhat Difficult	37.9	50.0
Slightly Difficult	17.2	13.6
Not At All Difficult	10.3	9.1

Total N = 51
Resilient N = 29; 3 missing cases
Nonresilient N = 22

Percentages For Ways In Which Being Black Makes Life Harder

Resilient Nonresilient Denied Opportunity 65.0 41.7 Differntial Treatment 50.0 91.7 Harder To Prove Self 30.0 16.7 More Aware Of Own Actions 10.0 0.0 Feeling Inferior 5.0 0.0 Stress 5.0 0.0 Miscellaneous 20.0 8.3

Total N = 32 Resilient N = 20; 12 missing cases Nonresilient N = 12; 17 missing cases

Frequencies For Length Of Relationship With Mentor

Less than 1 month	Resilient 0	Nonresilient 3
1 - 6 months	2	2
6 months - 1 year	3	1
1 - 3 years	6	4
3 - 5 years	3	4
5 - 10 years	4	0
More than 10 years	4	0
Lifetime	4	1
No Mentor	5	7
Unanswered	1	0

Total N = 53
Resilient N = 31; 1 missing case
Nonresilient N = 22

Frequencies For Regularity Of Contact With Mentor

Once a year	Resilient 0	Nonresilient 2
Few times a year	7	5
Once a month	1	1
Few times a month	10	3
Once a week	4	2
Few times a week	3	1
Daily	1	1
No Mentor	_	_
No mencor	5	7
Unanswered	1	0

Total N = 53
Resilient N = 31; 1 missing case
Nonresilient N = 22

Frequencies For Age When Relationship With Mentor Began

Birth	Resilient 2	Nonresilient 1
Three Years	1	0
Six years	1	0
Seven years	1	0
Eight years	1	0
Eleven years	1	0
Twelve years	1	0
Fifteen years	1	0
Sixteen years	1	2
Seventeen years	1	1
Eighteen years	1	2
Nineteen years	2	1
Twenty years	2	2
Twenty-one years	6	1
Twenty-two years	0	1
Twenty-three years	1	1
Don't recall	1	1

Continued, next page

Table 30 (cont.)

No Mentor	Resilient 5	Nonresilient 7
Unanswered	3	2

Total N = 49
Resilient N = 29; 3 missing cases
Nonresilient N = 20; 2 missing cases

Mean resilient age = 14.78 years Mean nonresilient age = 17.40 years

Table 31

Frequencies For Think About The Last Time You Felt You Had Failed At Something. What Did You Feel You Had Failed At?

Academic	Resilient 20	Nonresilient 11
Effort	4	1
Relationship	4	3
Vocational	1	1
Miscellaneous	3	4

Total N = 52 Resilient N = 32

Nonresilient N = 20; 2 missing cases

Table 32

Frequencies For Think About The Last Time You Felt You Had Failed At Something. Can You Identify Any Factors That Helped You To Feel Good About Yourself Again?

Personal Qualities	Resilient 9	Nonresilient 1
Relationship(s)	9	7
Perspective	4	1
Religion	3	1
Time Passed	1	1
Achievement	5	5
Effort	8	0
School	1	0

Total N = 43

Resilient N = 29; 3 missing cases; 12 subjects reporting 2 or more means to feel good again

Nonresilient N = 14; 8 missing cases; 2 subjects reporting 2 means to feel good again

Table 33
Frequencies For Number Of Leisure Activities

No Activities	Resilient 0	Nonresilient 5
One Activity	2	1
Two Activities	6	5
Three Activities	11	3
Four Activities	5	2
Five Activities	5	3
Six Activities	2	0
Seven Activities	1	2

Total N = 53 Resilient N = 32

Nonreilient N = 21; 1 missing cases

Frequencies For Attend Church

Yes		Resilient 23	Nonresilient 16
No	<b>,</b>	7	5

Total N = 51 Resilient N = 30; 2 missing cases Nonresilient N = 21; 1 missing case

Table 35
Frequencies For Importance Of Religion

Resilient Nonresilient	
Very Important Resilient 22 Nonresilient 9	y Important
Somewhat Important 2 7	ewhat Important
Average Importance 4 3	rage Importance
Somewhat Unimportant 0 0	ewhat Unimportant
Very Unimportant 2 2	y Unimportant

Total N = 51
Resilient N = 30; 2 missing cases
Nonresilient N = 21; 1 missing case

Frequencies For Religion

Catholic	Resilient 3	Nonresilient 2
Protestant	10	8
Muslim	1	0
Jewish	0	0
Other Lutheran	1	0
Baptist	8	4
Methodist	3	2
Apostolic	1	0
Seventh Day	0	1
Christian	1	1
unspecified	2	2

Total N = 52
Resilient N = 30; 2 missing cases
Nonresilient N = 22

Frequencies For Generations To Attend College

Self	Resilient 3	Nonresilient 6
Parents	15	10
Grandparents	11	3
Great Grandparents	1	1

Total N = 50
Resilient N = 30; 2 missing cases
Nonresilient N = 20; 2 missing cases

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